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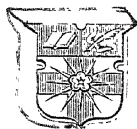
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THE
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OF
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BY
M. E. CARTER
HONOUR SCHOOL OF MODERN HISTORY, OXFORD

Sketch-¹²⁵ Impression



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PREFACE.

AT the London University Matriculation Examination one of the requirements mentioned under the heading of English is a knowledge of "the salient facts of English History." The present work is an attempt to present these salient facts in a readable but definite form unencumbered with irrelevant detail.

Such being the nature and purpose of the book, it is hoped that it will prove useful not only to Matriculation candidates, but also for class-work generally where a book is required that will fill the gap between the child's primer and a "text-book" which provides for the wants of those who are offering history as a subject by itself—such a text-book, for instance, as the *Tutorial History of England* and the *Matriculation Modern History*, on both of which the present work is to some extent based and to which it forms an easy introduction.

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BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **The Influence of Geography upon History.**—The position of a country in the world and the formation of its land are matters of great importance to it. Whether it is to be strong or weak, rich or poor, will often depend on its situation, on the character of its rivers, on its possession of plains or hills, and on the nature of its borders. In the history of the country which is now known as Great Britain geography has played a particularly large part.

§ 2. **Geography of Great Britain.**—Great Britain is an island, protected on all sides by the sea. Thus when maritime enterprise began to decline in Northern Europe, England was comparatively safe from invasion and her rulers were able to build up a strong government at an earlier date than the neighbouring sovereigns on the continent. At the same time, although the English Channel was an effective defence in time of war it was easy to cross in time of peace, and the English were able to share in the intellectual life of Europe. On the other hand, a long and narrow island like Great Britain was readily divided into two, and the northern regions being rugged and mountainous were for a long time backward in civilisation, although by no means backward in military enterprise and independence of spirit. England and Scotland were therefore long hostile and separate, and it was only by degrees that they were able to realise what nature had intended and form a single kingdom.

CHAPTER I.

Britain before the Coming of the English.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 55 B.C. Coming of Julius Caesar. | 121. Visit of the Emperor |
| 43 A.D. Conquest of Aulus | Hadrian to Britain. |
| Plautius. | 306-337. Constantine the Great, |
| 61. Capture of Mona by | Emperor of Rome. |
| Romans. | 410. Refusal of Honorius to |
| 61. Revolt of Boadicea. | help the Britons. |
| 78-84. Britain under Agricola. | |

§ 3. **Unwritten History.** (a) **The Men of the Old Stone Age.**—Very little can be known about a country before its people have become civilised enough to write its history. But something may be learnt from the remains of men and animals found buried in its rocks and caves. From skeletons and weapons thus discovered, it is clear that this country, in the days when it formed part of the continent, was inhabited by large and fierce animals, and by a race of men who made rude weapons of stone. These primitive inhabitants are known as the **Men of the Old Stone Age**. They were destroyed by a change of climate which covered the land with ice, and when Great Britain was again populated it had become an island.

§ 4. (b) **The Men of the New Stone and Bronze Ages.**—The **Iberians**, who belonged to a race which once peopled a large part of Western Europe, were the next inhabitants.

They are called the **Men of the New Stone Age**, for their weapons, though better shaped than those of their predecessors, were also made of stone. They were easily conquered by the next invaders, who belonged to the Celtic race, and who used more effective weapons made of bronze. The first Celts to land in Britain were the **Goidels** or **Gaels**; they were followed successively by the **Britons**, the **Gauls**, and the **Belgae**. All the invaders as they came from the continent landed in the south-eastern parts of the island. Each influx of fresh peoples drove the earlier inhabitants further west. The latter finally took refuge in the hills of Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland.

§ 5. **Written History.**—The written history of Great Britain may be said to date from the landing of **Julius Caesar** in Kent in 55 B.C. Caesar was a general nominally in the service of the great Roman Republic, which had conquered nearly all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. He was at the time engaged upon the conquest of Gaul. Caesar was, in a sense, the first historian of Britain. It is true that the "**Brettanic Islands**" are mentioned in the works of much older writers, but there is no connected description of this country earlier than that contained in Caesar's account of his **Gallic War**.

§ 6. **Caesar's Conquest.**—Caesar's first expedition to Britain was not a success. He did not find it an easy task to secure a foothold on British soil, and after a few days he retired. Next year he came again with a larger army. He conquered several of the British tribes, imposed a small tribute, and withdrew. During the remaining ten years of his life Caesar had no other opportunity of invading Britain, and nearly a hundred years passed before the Romans came again.

§ 7. **Caesar's Account of Britain.**—Caesar's description of the British Isles refers chiefly to the part nearest Gaul. He found that the country had a large population, and that it was well stocked with cattle. There were tin and iron mines, and many kinds of trees. The inland people did not as a rule sow corn, but lived on flesh and milk, and were dressed in skins. They also stained themselves blue with woad that they might appear alarming to their enemies in battle. They were much under the influence of their priests, whom they called **Druids**. The Druids worshipped in groves and offered human beings in sacrifice to their deities.

§ 8. **Roman Conquest of Britain.**—During the reign of the Emperor Claudius the Romans subdued southern and central Britain as far west as the Severn. In the reign of the Emperor Nero they crushed the power of the Druids, which continually threatened their own dominion. The last druidic stronghold to be conquered was Mona (Anglesey). About the same time they suppressed a dangerous rebellion of the Iceni, a British tribe which had been goaded to revolt by ill-treatment at the hands of Roman officials and merchants. The Iceni were led by their Queen, **Boadicea**, whom the Romans had beaten with rods, and whose daughters they had cruelly ill-used. The rebels are said to have massacred 70,000 Romans before the rising was suppressed. Boadicea was defeated in battle, and took poison rather than fall into her enemies' hands.

§ 9. **Limits of the Roman Occupation of Britain.**—A famous Roman general, **Agricola**, extended the Roman frontier northwards to the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Between these two firths he built a line of forts as a protection against the Caledonians. These forts marked

the extreme northern limits of the Roman rule in Britain, but practically the power of the Romans did not extend beyond **Hadrian's Wall**, a rampart built by the Emperor **Hadrian** between Solway Firth and the mouth of the Tyne. On the west the Roman frontier was marked by the forts of **Deva** (Chester), **Uriconium** (Wroxeter), and **Isca Silurum** (Caerleon). The Romans never conquered the whole of Britain. There were considerable settlements of retired soldiers in the south and east, but elsewhere the occupation was merely military and resembled the English occupation of India at the present day.

§ 10. **Effects of Roman Rule in Britain.**—The Romans introduced their art, architecture, laws, and religion—at first Emperor-worship, later Christianity—into the British Isles. They opened up the country by great roads. They built theatres, baths, and villas. They cleared away forests, drained marshes, and made the land so fertile that it was called “the Granary of the North.” Under the rule of Rome the Britons enjoyed greater prosperity than ever before, and shared in the general life of Europe. A British martyr, **Alban**, gained a place among the saints of the Catholic Church, and British bishops attended a Church Council which was held at **Arles** (South of France).

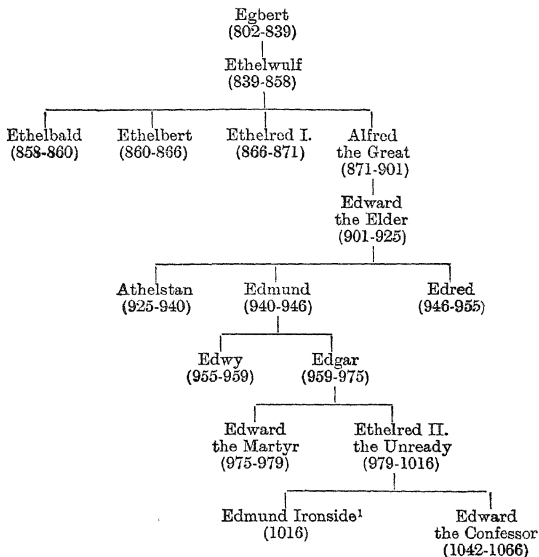
§ 11. **Departure of the Romans.**—The Roman occupation of Britain lasted some 367 years. In the fourth century all the provinces of Rome were subject to the attacks of the barbarians, as the Romans called the uncivilised tribes who dwelt beyond their borders. The Romans had to defend Britain on the north against the inroads of the **Picts** (as the **Caledonians** were then called) and the **Scots** (Gael from the north of Ireland), and on the south from **Saxon** invaders coming from the shores of the North Sea. But natural decay, due to long prosperity, was sapping the

strength of the Roman Empire, and weakness at length compelled the Romans to give up the attempt to defend Britain. Garrisons were withdrawn and not replaced, and later an appeal of the Britons for aid against the Saxons was refused by the Emperor Honorius. This refusal marks the end of the subjection of Britain to Rome.

§ 12. **Roman Remains in Britain.**—Roman law, architecture, and language disappeared from Britain with the coming of the English. The Christian religion also vanished from the land which was to be England, to return afresh from Rome after nearly two centuries had elapsed. It survived, however, in the far west of the island and in Ireland. The most permanent legacy which the Romans left to England was, therefore, the network of great roads by which they had opened up the country to trade and civilisation. The sites of their towns and forts were, moreover, so well chosen that some of them are important cities to the present day. Wherever, for instance, the Roman word *castra* (camp)—or its Welsh form *caer*—and *strata* (street) appear in modern place-names they show that the place was once a Roman camp, or a station on a military road.¹

¹ *E.g.* Chester, Manchester, Lancaster, Leicester, Exeter, Caerleon, Carlisle, Stratford, Chester-le-street, Strata Florida (Cardiganshire).

THE OLD ENGLISH KINGS.



¹ From 1016-1042 Danish kings ruled in England: Canute (Cnut) 1016-1035, Harold I. (Harefoot) 1036-1039, Hardicanute (Harthacnut) 1039-1042.

CHAPTER II.

The Coming and Consolidation of the English.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| 449. | Coming of the English. | 787. | Coming of the Danes. |
| 520. | Defeat of the West Saxons by the Welsh at Mons Badon. | 802. | Accession of Egbert. |
| 577. | Victory of the West Saxons over the Welsh at Deor- ham. | 825. | West Saxon victory over Mercia at Ellandun. |
| 597. | Coming of Augustine. | 839. | Accession of Ethelwulf. |
| 613. | Northumbrian victory over Welsh at Chester. | 855. | Danes winter in Sheppey. |
| 633. | Penda's defeat of Edwin at Heathfield. | 871. | Accession of Alfred. |
| 642. | Penda's defeat of Oswald at Maserfield. | 878. | Alfred's defeat of the Danes at Ethandun, and Treaty of Wedmore. |
| 655. | Defeat and death of Penda at Winwæd. | 901. | Accession of Edward the Elder. |
| 779. | Victory of Offa over the West Saxons at Ben- sington. | 925. | Accession of Athelstan. |
| | | 937. | Athelstan's victory at Brunanburgh. |
| | | 940. | Accession of Edmund. |
| | | 946. | Accession of Edred. |
| | | 959. | Accession of Edgar. |

Introduction.

§ 13. **The Fall of the Roman Empire.**—Before the close of the fourth century the Roman Empire had been divided into two parts. The Eastern portion, the capital of which was Constantinople, survived until 1453. The Western portion was partitioned by invading tribes of Germans in the fifth century, and its line of emperors came to an end in 476.

§ 14. **The Partition of the Roman Empire.**—The various settlements of the barbarian invaders of the Western

Empire laid the foundations of all the modern states of Western Europe. In Italy, Gaul, and Spain, where the Roman influence was strong, the settlers adopted the law and the language of Rome. In Britain and in the valleys of the Rhine and Danube, where the Roman occupation was less complete, the new-comers generally kept their own language, and often their own laws. But before the close of the eighth century all these heathen invaders had accepted the Christian religion and acknowledged the spiritual authority of Rome. In the year 800 the title of **Roman Emperor** was revived in the West and bestowed upon Charles the Great, king of the Franks.

§ 15. **The Rise of Strong Monarchies.**—Before the Christianised Germans had become united or fully civilised, they were disturbed by fresh invaders. The tribes bordering on the Atlantic were attacked by savage pirates from the North. The ravages of these **Northmen** at first checked the progress of the different countries which experienced them, but in the long run they had an opposite effect. For the Northmen accepted Christianity and in some cases, *e.g.* in Normandy, formed strong and civilised kingdoms; the necessities of a common defence, moreover, helped to bind the suffering tribes together, and made powerful national kings of the tribal chiefs who headed the resistance to the invaders. Thus the leaders of the defence against the Danes in Britain were the great West-Saxon kings, and it was under these kings that the English first became a united nation.

The Invasion and Settlements of the English.

§ 16. **The Legend of Hengist and Horsa.**—The story of the coming of the English is told in legend only. It is

said that Vortigern, King of Kent, was so hard pressed by the Picts that he implored the Jutes, a tribe of Germans living in the lowlands near the mouth of the Elbe, to come to his aid. They came under two leaders called Hengist and Horsa, who, after they had driven away the Picts, remained to conquer Kent for themselves.

§ 17. *The English Invasion.*—To what extent the story is true it is impossible to say. But it is certain that the Germans were making conquests in Gaul in the middle of the fifth century, and that they entered Britain about the same date. Three tribes, each coming at a different time, but all from the same neighbourhood, invaded Britain. The Jutes settled in Kent; the Saxons occupied the rest of southern England; and the Angles peopled the north-east and midlands and finally gave their name to the country.

§ 18. *The Struggle with the Britons.*—The contest between the English and the Britons was long and fierce. It appears to have been, at first, a war not of conquest but of extermination. So determined was the resistance of the Britons that the progress of the English was very slow. Thus the West-Saxons were checked for thirty years by the defeat of their leader Cerdic at *Mons Badon*.¹ But gradually the Britons were driven back. Some of the survivors took refuge in the mountainous west; others crossed the sea to the district afterwards known as Brittany. After a prolonged struggle the Britons in the west of England were hopelessly weakened by two great English victories, which cut them into three divisions: N., Cumbria; W., Wales; S., Cornwall. The West-Saxons won their way to the western sea by a victory at *Deorham*, near Bath; the Angles by an equally important victory at *Chester*.

¹ Probably Badbury in Dorset.

§ 19. **Characteristics of the English.**—The English were warlike and loved freedom. They lived mainly by agriculture and hated town life. They were divided into classes: noble, non-noble, and servile. Each tribe was governed by a chief or ealdorman, chosen from the family of noblest blood. During the struggle against the Britons the English chiefs became kings. Each king ruled with the advice of a council of wise men, known as the **Witan**. But a general assembly, in which every freeman might take part, met to discuss affairs of extraordinary importance. After the English had settled down they combined to form numerous kingdoms, the most important of which were **Northumbria** in the north, **Mercia** in the midlands, **Wessex** and **Kent** in the south. **Northumbria** and **Mercia**, were peopled by Angles, **Wessex** was peopled by Saxons, and **Kent** by Jutes.

§ 20. **The Strife of the Kingdoms.**—As soon as these kingdoms were formed they began to fight among themselves for power and overlordship. **Northumbria**, **Mercia**, and **Wessex** were also engaged in fighting against the Welsh: the West-Saxons against the South Welsh, the Mercians against the West Welsh, and the Northumbrians against the North Welsh. This continued struggle kept the English in the three border kingdoms warlike and vigorous, and thus helped to make them the most powerful kingdoms in England. But before they became important the little kingdom of **Kent**, under its king **Ethelbert**, the compiler of the earliest English code of laws, earned a lasting renown as the first English kingdom to accept Christianity.

§ 21. **Kent and the Conversion of the English.**—**Ethelbert** is more famous as the first Christian king in England than as the first English lawgiver. Pope Gregory the

Great had wished to convert the English ever since, as a young man, he had seen English boys in the slave-market at Rome, and, noticing their fair faces, had called them "not Angles, but Angels." When he became Pope he sent Augustine, a Benedictine monk, to preach Christianity to the English. As Ethelbert had married Bertha, the Christian daughter of the Frankish king who lived at Paris, the way was already prepared for the mission of St. Augustine; and a year after his coming the king of Kent and many of his subjects were baptised.

§ 22. **The Supremacy of Northumbria.**—The supremacy of the kingdom of Kent did not survive the death of Ethelbert. Northumbria, under a great king, Edwin, was the next kingdom to rise to power. Edwin married a daughter of Ethelbert, who took with her to her new home a missionary, Paulinus. Under the influence of Paulinus the Northumbrians were converted to the Christian religion. But the supremacy of Northumbria was not of a lasting kind. The kingdom consisted of a long and narrow strip of country stretching from the Firth of Forth to the Humber. It was difficult to weld into a united whole, and always liable to succumb to the military power of Mercia. Thus Edwin fell in battle at Heathfield, near Doncaster, against Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, and with him fell the Christian religion. Paulinus fled from the country and many of the Northumbrians relapsed into heathenism.

§ 23. **The Work of Oswald.**—The kingdom was restored by the energy of Edwin's nephew, Oswald. The new king of Northumbria had been living in exile in Scotland in a monastery recently founded at Iona by a Celtic missionary, Columba, who had crossed over from Ireland to convert the Picts. While at Iona, Oswald had become a Christian, and when he was settled on his throne he sent

to Iona for missionaries in order that they might win Northumbria back to the Christian faith. The most famous of these missionaries was the saintly **Aidan**. It was also at Oswald's instigation that the Roman missionary, **Birinus**, was sent to Wessex. Oswald finally shared his uncle's fate, and fell in battle with Penda at **Maserfield**.

§ 24. **The Work of Oswy**.—Northumbria was then divided for a time. But it was again restored to power by **Oswy**, brother of Oswald, who defeated and slew Penda at the battle of **Winwæd** in Yorkshire. After the death of Penda, Mercia consented to receive a Christian missionary, **Chad**, from Northumbria, and became converted to Christianity. Oswy's next task was to settle the disputes between the Celtic and Roman missionaries in England. The disputes concerned matters of minor importance, such as the date of Easter. The northern kingdoms, which had been converted by missionaries from Iona, followed the customs of the Celtic, the southern those of the Roman Church, and the divergences had been a source of trouble from the time of Augustine. Oswy held a Synod at **Whitby** to consider the question, and, as a result, agreed to acknowledge the authority of Rome.

§ 25. **Theodore of Tarsus**.—No sooner had this matter been decided than a Greek monk, named **Theodore of Tarsus**, was sent by the Pope to be Archbishop of Canterbury and to put the English Church in order. He travelled through the country increasing the number of bishops, rearranging dioceses, and bringing the whole Church under the authority of Canterbury. Finally he summoned a general council at Hertford. It was the first assembly in which representatives of the different English kingdoms met together. While separated politically, they

were thus united ecclesiastically, and the Synod of Hertford may be regarded as the first national assembly of the English.

§ 26. *The Literature and Learning of Northumbria.*—Northumbria was renowned for its literature as well as for its missionary zeal, and its literary and religious influence lived on after its political power had passed away. Its monasteries were long the centre of Anglo-Saxon culture and learning. It produced the first of English poets in *Cædmon* and the first of English historians in *Baeda*—the “Venerable Bede” as he was called. Bede translated part of the Bible into English and wrote an *Ecclesiastical History*, which tells the story of the settlement and conversion of the English. His life was one of incessant labour, and as he lay dying he dictated the closing sentence of his last book to one of his scholars.

§ 27. *The Supremacy of Mercia.*—After the decline of Northumbria Mercia was the first kingdom in the land. It was a country without a good frontier, ill-adapted for either unity or strength, and only powerful under a strong king. It had been strong while *Penda* lived, but when he died its strength decayed for a time. Its power was restored at intervals by four kings, the greatest of whom was *Offa*. He defeated the West-Saxons at *Bensington*, and probably added their territories north of the Thames to his dominions. He also won a victory over the Welsh, and thereby extended his western frontier. He seems to have marked the new boundary between Mercia and Wales by an earthen rampart, drawn from the mouth of the *Dee* to that of the *Wye*. It is still known as *Offa's Dyke*. After *Offa's* death the supremacy of Mercia was continued under *Cenwulf*. It was finally brought to a close by the West-Saxon victory of *Ellandun* (825).

The Coming of the Danes and the Consolidation of the English.

§ 28. **The Attacks of the Northmen.**—Towards the close of the eighth century pirates from Norway and Denmark, impelled by a love of adventure and by hunger, began to attack the coasts of Europe. The invaders of England were chiefly Danes. The history of the Danish invasions of England falls into three periods: the first was a period of plunder, the second a period of settlement, the third a period of conquest. It was in 787 that “the first ships of the Danish men sought the land of the English.”¹ In the beginning the English were quite unable to defend themselves. They had no fleet to prevent the landing of the Danes, who retired to their ships and got safely away as soon as they had amassed sufficient plunder.

§ 29. **The Period of Plunder and the Rise of Wessex.**—Under a famous king, the law-giver Ine, Wessex had been very powerful. But after his death it fell into a state of anarchy, from which it was only rescued by the accession of another great king. Egbert ascended the West-Saxon throne in 802. He carefully reorganised his kingdom before he attempted to extend his power, and in 825 he was strong enough to defeat the Mercians at Ellandun. Two years after this success he was recognised as overlord of all the English kingdoms. In 836 he won a great victory over the South Welsh and Danes at Hengistesdun, and extended his influence to the Land’s End. Three years later he resigned his crown, dividing his kingdom among his sons. To the eldest, Ethelwulf, he gave Wessex and the greatest power.

§ 30. **The Period of Settlement.**—It was during the

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

reign of Ethelwulf that the Danes first spent a winter in England. Ethelwulf died in 858, and was succeeded in turn by his four sons. During the reigns of the three elder the Danes ravaged Northumbria and Mercia, destroying monasteries and slaying monks wherever they went, and they even raided Winchester, the capital of Wessex. In 871 they pitched their camp at Reading with the intention of subduing Wessex. "In that year nine folk-fights were fought south of the Thames and many a raid that is not numbered;"¹ and, shortly after a victory at Ashdown, Ethelred, the third son of Ethelwulf, died and was succeeded by his younger brother, **Alfred**.

§ 31. **Alfred the Great**.—Alfred fully deserved his title of "Great." To "live worthily" was the aim of his life. Though weak in health and often in great pain, he thought no toil too hard, no danger too great to be faced for the sake of his country. He had not been many years on the throne of Wessex before he was compelled by the Danes to take refuge at Athelney, in Somersetshire. But he did not despair. He reorganised his forces, defeated the Danes at Ethandun, in Wiltshire, and compelled them to surrender at Chippenham. Then Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish leader, agreed to divide England by the **Treaty of Wedmore**. When this Treaty was revised later it was arranged that the Danes were to rule on the north-east and Alfred on the south-west of an irregular line drawn from near London to Chester. The part of England left to the Danes came to be known as the **Danelagh** or **Danelaw**.²

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

² The parts where the Danes settled can still be traced by the Danish termination "by," which took the place of the Anglo-Saxon "burgh" at the end of place-names, e.g. Whitby, Derby.

§ 32. **The Work of Alfred.**—During the peace which followed, Alfred strengthened his kingdom in every possible way. He enlarged the thegnhood, or fighting force consisting of the personal followers of the nobles; he built a fleet; and he divided the fyrd, or militia, into two parts, that one might take the field while the other tilled the land. These reforms showed that he had carefully noted all the weak points in the English resistance to the Danes. He improved the laws of England by selecting and revising the best laws of his predecessors; and he did much to revive religion and learning, which had almost perished with the destruction of the monasteries by the Danes. He founded new monasteries, invited learned men to his court, caused the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to be begun, and translated many of the best known works of his time, including Bede's history, from Latin into English.

§ 33. **The Reconquest of the Danelagh.**—Alfred was unable to do more than defend his own territories. But his son, Edward the Elder, with the help of his sister Ethelfleda,¹ began the reconquest of the Danelagh, which consisted of two kingdoms and five independent towns known as the Five Boroughs. The Five Boroughs were all taken before Edward's death, and he also received the submission of Essex and East Anglia, which together formed one of the kingdoms. His sons called themselves Kings of the whole of Britain, and their sisters were taken in marriage by the greatest princes on the Continent. The eldest son, Athelstan, crushed the Scots, Strathclyde Britons, and an invading army of Danes in a great battle at Brunanburgh; the second, Edmund, conquered the

¹ Widow of the Ealdorman of Mercia, and called the *Lady of the Mercians*. She died some years before her brother Edward.

northern part of Strathclyde and gave it to the King of Scotland on condition that he should be his fellow-worker by sea and land; and the third, Edred, put down a rebellion in Northumbria.

§ 34. Edgar and Dunstan.—Edred was succeeded by his son Edwy, who quarrelled with the Church and was deserted by most of his subjects before his death in 955. Edgar, the next king, was popular. The good order which he maintained, by the help of his chief adviser Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, won him the title of “the peaceful king.” He gained the friendship of the great Anglo-Saxon families by grants of local power—a policy which, however, proved to be dangerous under weaker kings. Dunstan continued Alfred’s work of refounding monasteries and encouraging learning. He also reformed the lives of the monks by bringing them under the stricter rule of life instituted on the Continent by St. Benedict of Nursia. By this time the supremacy of Wessex over the other tribal kingdoms was assured. This was due in a great measure to the line of strong kings who ruled the land from the accession of Egbert to the death of Edgar.

BOOK II.

England under Foreign Kings, 975-1216.

Introduction.

§ 35. **England in the Tenth Century.**—By 979 the English people had united, though the union was not as yet close nor likely to last. England was no longer divided into kingdoms. It was divided, for local government only, into shires. Each shire had its court of freemen, presided over by an ealdorman or a bishop, and each was divided into hundreds. In each “hundred” there was also a court. But there was no general assembly of freemen for the kingdom as a whole: for the freemen were too numerous. The king ruled, therefore, with the assistance of the Witan only.

§ 36. **The King and the Witan.**—The power of the Witan was not great. It elected the king from among the members of the royal family, and it occasionally deposed a king for misgovernment. But as a rule its task was simply to give advice. Thus the nature of the government depended on the character of the king, who could keep order only if he were personally strong. The descendants of Edgar were not strong enough to hold England together, and the unity of the country had to be restored by foreign kings.

§ 37. **The Foreign Kings of England.**—After four Danish kings had reigned in succession, an Anglo-Saxon once more

ascended the throne. The reign of **Edward the Confessor** saw a prolonged rivalry of English, Danish, and Norman influences, which ended, at his death, in the victory of **William, Duke of Normandy**. The Norman kings of England, and their successors of the House of Anjou, completed the union of the country, and gave England for the first time a strong central government. To understand their work fully it is necessary to know the meaning of the terms **Feudalism** and **Feudal System**.

§ 38. **The Growth of Feudalism.**—During the first two periods of Danish invasion a system of government known as Feudalism was gradually growing up in England. The king rewarded his thegns for their services by grants of land, or sometimes gave it to them on condition of future service. In return they undertook to help him in the work of government by exercising jurisdiction over their tenants, and by bringing them to fight for him when required. The relations of a thegn to his tenant was much the same as those of the king to his thegns. Thus the rights, powers, and duties of ruler and subjects came to depend on the holding of land.

§ 39. **Independence of the Nobles and Vassalage of Freemen.**—To entrust local power to the thegns after this fashion was the only way of keeping order while there was no strong central government. But it was dangerous; because the nobles, when they became powerful, were apt to make themselves independent of the king's control. As the noble became more powerful the ordinary freeman became more dependent. Fear of the Danes led him to "commend" himself to some powerful lord—that is to say, to give his land and his services to a lord in return for protection.

§ 40. **Weakness of the Feudal System.**—Thus the peasant or villein held his land from some lord, who again

held it from an overlord or noble. As the nobles in their turn held from the king he—at least after the conquest—was regarded as owner of all the land in the kingdom. Between the lower ranks and the king, however, was the whole series of lords and overlords. Each lord could make private war and hold private courts of justice, and was bound only by the duties which, as vassal, he owed to his overlord. The overlord was powerful only in so far as he could secure the loyalty of his vassals. Hence the good government of a district depended on the personal power of its overlord, or, if he were weak, on the goodwill of the lesser lords, his vassals, and the unity of the country depended on the personal influence of the king over his barons.

§ 41. Substitution of Central for Feudal Government.—Such in its main outlines was the Feudal System. In England it was never so complete as on the Continent, and after the Norman Conquest the foreign kings of England steadily laboured to destroy the local power of the barons and to assert their own undivided authority over the kingdom. The English thus obtained an efficient central government at an earlier date than their neighbours upon the Continent. They owed this in part to the fact that the Feudal System never was fully developed in England, but more to the ability of their Norman and Angevin kings, who as far as England was concerned had a free hand, and had not to fear invasion.

CHAPTER III.

The Danish Conquest, 975-1066.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 975. Accession of Edward the Martyr. | 1035. Accession of Harold I. |
| 979. Accession of Ethelred the Unready. | 1040. Accession of Hardicanute. |
| 1013-14. Swegn, king of England. | 1042. Accession of Edward the Confessor. |
| 1016. Accession of Canute. | 1066. Accession of Harold II. and Battle of Hastings. |

§ 42. **Ethelred the Unready.**—Edgar's successor was his son Edward, surnamed "the Martyr" because of his tragic death. He was murdered after a reign of three years, and was succeeded by his half-brother, **Ethelred**. The new king was so incapable that men called him "the Unready," or ill-advised. When the Danes once more attacked England he attempted to buy them off with money raised by a land-tax called the **Danegeld**. But the Danes soon returned to demand a larger sum. In 1002 Ethelred took a wiser step. To deprive the Danes of support from their kinsmen, the Normans, he married Emma, daughter of the Duke of Normandy. But unfortunately he infuriated the Danes about the same time by ordering a general massacre¹ of those who had settled in Wessex (1002).

§ 43. **Contest between the Danish and English Kings.**—After this the attacks of the Danes became so fierce that Ethelred fled to Normandy in 1013. **Swegn**, king of

¹ It is known as "the massacre of St. Brice's Day."

the Danes, was accepted as his successor. When he died in the following year England was again divided. The Danes chose Canute, younger son of Swegn, as king, but the English recalled Ethelred on condition that "he would rule them better than he did before."¹ A struggle between Ethelred and Canute followed. Canute had very nearly conquered England when Ethelred died. Ethelred's successor was his son Edmund, surnamed "Ironside" because of his courageous and determined fight for the crown. After a fierce contest he agreed to divide England with Canute. A little later he died.

§ 44. **The Reign of Canute, 1016-1035.**—The death of Edmund made Canute king of all England. He chose to rule as an English monarch rather than as a foreign conqueror. Though he became king of both Denmark and Norway before his death, he still made England his headquarters. He kept up the English laws and customs, and he continued Edgar's policy of giving local power to great nobles in order to secure their fidelity and their aid in the work of government. In his day England was usually divided into five rulerships or earldoms, later there were four:—Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia. Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and Leofwin, Earl of Mercia, were both very powerful, but they dared not assert themselves while Canute lived.

§ 45. **Reigns of Harold I. and Hardicanute.**—The death of Canute, in 1035, was a great loss to England. His government had been both wise and firm. He had also encouraged learning, built bridges, drained fens, and endowed churches. His eldest son, Harold, was accepted as his successor by the majority of the English. The West Saxons, however, preferred Hardicanute, the child

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

of Canute's second wife, Emma of Normandy, widow of Ethelred. But, eventually, they too accepted Harold. Harold died in 1040 and was succeeded by Hardicanute, who reigned for two years. At his death the English elected Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma of Normandy, to the vacant throne.

§ 46. The Reign of Edward the Confessor.—Edward, surnamed “the Confessor” because of his piety, had been brought up in Normandy and was more Norman than English. He displeased his subjects by giving high positions in the English Church to his Norman friends. He even made a Norman, Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury. The government of the country he left very largely in the hands of the great earls—Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria—whom he was unable to control. They disliked his Norman favourites, and after a time were powerful enough to drive his friend, Robert of Jumièges, out of the country.

§ 47. The Power of the House of Godwin.—Earl Godwin was the most influential man in England, and when he died his house lost none of its power. His eldest daughter was the king's wife; his second son became Earl of Wessex; another son secured the Earldom of Northumbria on Siward's death; and two younger sons were made Earls of East Anglia and Kent. In 1065, however, the power of the House of Godwin was slightly diminished by the expulsion of Tostig Godwinson from Northumbria. The Northumbrians chose Morkere, son of the Earl of Mercia, as their ruler in his stead.

§ 48. King Harold II., 1066.—King Edward died childless in 1066. His heir was Edgar the Atheling, a grandson of Edmund Ironside. But, as Edgar was too young to rule in such troubled times, the Witan offered the crown to

Harold Godwinson, then the most powerful man in England, though he was not of royal blood. Harold tried to strengthen his position by marrying the sister of the earls **Edwin of Mercia** and **Morkere of Northumbria**. He had two great rivals to fear: **Harold Hardrada**, King of Norway, and **William, Duke of Normandy**. The latter was by far the more dangerous. He was connected by marriage with the royal house of England; he claimed to have received a promise of the succession from **Edward the Confessor**, and he declared that **Harold**, when wrecked at some unknown time on the Norman coast, had sworn to support his claim.

§ 49. **The Disunion of England.**—None of Duke William's claims gave him the shadow of a legal right to the throne, but the English could hope to resist him only by a united effort, and this was made impossible by the jealousies of the English earls. While awaiting the arrival of Duke William in England, Harold was summoned to the north by the news that **Harold Hardrada**, aided by his own brother **Tostig**, had landed in England and routed **Edwin** and **Morkere**. Harold surprised and defeated the invaders at **Stamford Bridge**, and both **Tostig** and his ally fell in battle. Three days later Harold heard that the Norman duke had landed at **Pevensey** in **Sussex**. He hastened southwards, collecting what troops he could by the way, but **Edwin** and **Morkere** refused, or were unable, to help him.

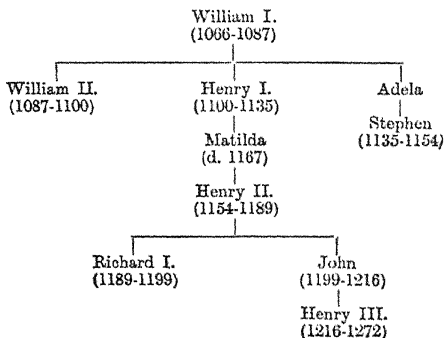
§ 50. **The Battle of Hastings.**—The Norman army consisted of well-equipped archers and mailed horsemen; the English of ill-armed and ill-trained peasants. Harold, knowing that his men could not meet the Normans on equal terms, chose a favourable position on the hill of **Senlac**, near **Hastings**, and stood wholly on the defensive. For many hours William tried in vain to dislodge him.

At length William drew the English wings from behind their stockade by a feigned retreat, and thereby weakened the centre where Harold's own bodyguard stood. In the open the English were soon dispersed and the Normans gained the crest of the hill. A desperate struggle followed. It ended before nightfall in the victory of the Normans. William ordered his archers to shoot in the air so that the arrows might fall on the unprotected faces of the English. And at sunset Harold lay dead beside the royal standard with an arrow in his eye.

THE NORMAN KINGS

AND

THE FIRST PLANTAGENET OR ANGEVIN KINGS.



CHAPTER IV.

The Norman Conquest, 1066-1154.

(a) William the Conqueror: born 1027; married Matilda of Flanders 1053; died 1087.

(b) William II., Rufus: born 1056; died 1100.

(c) Henry I., Beaulere: born 1068; married Edith (or Matilda) of Scotland; died 1135.

(d) Stephen, Count of Blois: born 1105; died 1154.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Western Empire. | Papacy. | Scotland. |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Henry V. (1106) | Gregory VII. <i>Hildebrand</i> (1073) | Malcolm III. <i>Canmore</i> (1057) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1066. Accession of William I. 1071. Defeat of Hereward the Wake. 1074. Rising of Barons. 1085. Domesday Book. 1086. The Salisbury Gemot. 1087. Accession of William Rufus. 1095-9. First Crusade. | 1100. Accession of Henry I. 1106. Battle of Tinchebrai. 1120. Death of Henry's son William. 1135. Accession of Stephen. 1138. Battle of the Standard. 1141. Stephen temporarily replaced by Matilda. 1153. Treaty of Wallingford. |
|---|---|

William the Conqueror, 1066-1087.

§ 51. Coronation of William.—Edgar the Atheling was chosen as Harold's successor. But William, by cutting London off from the aid of the English in the north, compelled the Witan to abandon their choice. They offered the throne to William instead, and he was crowned on Christmas

Day, 1066. It took him, however, three years to conquer the rest of England, and dangers meanwhile threatened him on every side. Edwin and Morkere were seeking the aid of the Danes, Edgar that of the Scots; but there was no united resistance.

§ 52. **Conquest of England.**—William crushed opposition in the north by laying waste the valleys of Yorkshire. He defeated the last of his English opponents in the island of Ely, where they had made a determined stand under their famous leader, **Hereward the Wake**. He went himself to Chester to secure the submission of Wales; and, by marching an army across the Forth, he compelled **Malcolm, King of Scotland**, who had married Edgar's sister, Margaret, to become his liegeman.

§ 53. **William and the Feudal System.**—William's experience in Normandy had shown him the evils of the Feudal system. He had inherited the Duchy while still a youth, and had with difficulty maintained his power over his vassals, the Norman barons. On the other hand he had been strong enough to defy the King of France, his overlord, to whom he owed fealty and service. Knowing that the royal power was in danger of becoming as impotent in England as it was in France, William came to the throne fully determined to be supreme in his dominions.

§ 54. **Firm Rule of William.**—The circumstances of the conquest favoured his plans. The opposition to him gave him an excuse for declaring the land of England forfeit. He then granted it to his own followers on his own terms in scattered portions, so that no lord should be too powerful in one district. The Earls of Durham, Cheshire, and for a time Kent were nevertheless allowed to hold entire counties, because it was their duty to protect the English border against the Scots, Welsh, and French respectively.

§ 55. **Restriction of Feudal Government.**—William also tried to weaken the barons by transferring as many as possible of their powers of local government to officers of his own choice, called sheriffs. He kept up the old popular courts of the Hundred and the Shire, and made the sheriff president of the Shire Court instead of the earl.¹ William protected himself against the English by organising and extending the **Feudal Levy** or fighting force of the barons, and as a protection against the barons he built castles and kept up the old English fyrd.

§ 56. **Domesday Book.**—William's expenses of defence and government were so heavy that he found himself compelled to revive the Danegeld. In order to know how much everyone could afford to pay he had a very exact survey of the country made. The extent of each estate in England, the number of its tenants, and its taxable value were all written down in two volumes which were afterwards known as **Domesday Book**.

§ 57. **The Salisbury Gemot.**—Domesday Book is important not only for its contents, but also for the method by which it was obtained, representatives from each township being called upon to swear to the facts of their district. It moreover gave William the names of the land-owners of England. He then summoned them to a meeting at **Salisbury**, at which he compelled them to swear fealty to him as their overlord. Thus he showed them that they were his vassals before they were the vassals of their immediate lords, the barons, and that he looked on all the land of England as his own.

§ 58. **William and the Church.**—With the aid of his friend and adviser, Lanfranc of Pavia, whom he made

¹ The word *earl*—which was derived from the Danish word *jarl*—had by this time taken the place of the Anglo-Saxon word *ealdorman*

Archbishop of Canterbury, William also introduced system and order into the Church. At that time there was on the Continent a movement to reform the Church by forbidding the clergy to marry, and the Pope had already begun to claim supremacy throughout the Christian world. William sympathised with the movement to some extent. He forbade the clergy to marry, and he separated the lay from the spiritual courts. Bishops were henceforward to judge spiritual causes in their own courts and by Church law. William would not, however, admit the full supremacy of the Pope in England.

§ 59. **The Troubles of William's Later Years.**—In William's later years his barons and also his son Robert revolted against his stern rule. His subjects thought that his troubles were a punishment for his sins, and, in particular, for the sufferings he had caused by driving men out of their homes to make himself a hunting ground, which was called the **New Forest**, and was preserved by very cruel laws. In William's lifetime a son and a grandson of his died there, and another son was killed there after his death.

§ 60. **William's Excellent Rule.**—But the English had good cause to be grateful to William in spite of his faults, and to regret him when he died in 1087. He ruled as an English king, and as far as possible by English law; and he gave unity and order to the English nation. He was "a very wise and a great man. . . . Amongst other things the good order that William established is not to be forgotten: it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosomful of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."¹

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

William Rufus, 1087-1100.

§ 61. **Accession of William Rufus.**—The Conqueror had arranged that his eldest son Robert should be Duke of Normandy, and his second William, surnamed Rufus or the Red, King of England. But the English barons knew that William was strong and capable, and that Robert was weak and likely to give them their own way. So they rose in favour of Robert and tried to put him on the throne. The English, however, “stood by their lord the king,”¹ and William put down the rising by means of the fyrd. Though a thoroughly bad man, William was a strong king and better able to govern England than Robert would have been.

§ 62. **William's Extortions.**—To get money and to increase his territory were the chief aims of William II.'s government. Whether his exactions were just or unjust he cared not at all. He extorted from his vassals all the payments to which under the feudal system he was entitled as supreme land-owner. When a son succeeded his father, the king made him pay a fine or relief for the estate; and if the heir were a minor he claimed the right as guardian to enjoy the revenues of the estate during the minority and in the case of an heiress to choose her husband. The payments which the king exacted in virtue of his position as supreme overlord were called the **Feudal Dues**.

§ 63. **William and the Church.**—When the holder of a church benefice died, William frequently kept it vacant in order that he might enjoy its revenues during the vacancy. After the death of Lanfranc he did not appoint a new Archbishop of Canterbury for four years. Then, being ill and in great fear of death, he forced an Italian,

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Anselm of Aosta, abbot of Bee in Normandy, to take the vacant see. Between Rufus and the faintly Anselm there could be but little harmony, and as soon as the former recovered his health their disagreements began. At length Anselm left the country in despair, not to return while the Red King lived.

§ 64. The Red King's Increase of Territory.—William added considerably to the lands which his father had left him. He repulsed an invasion of the king of Scots, and annexed the district round Carlisle. He subdued South Wales, and gave the border barons leave to take what they could of the rest of the country. Finally he seized an opportunity of securing Normandy.

§ 65. The First Crusade.—This was given him by the First Crusade. As Pilgrims to the Holy Land were at that time subject to much ill-usage from the Turks in Palestine, the Pope urged Christendom on to a war on behalf of the Cross. "An innumerable number of men departed to conquer Palestine," and with them went Duke Robert. To gain money for his expedition, he pledged his duchy to his brother William. Four years later the Red King was killed by an arrow—whether accidentally or not is unknown—while hunting in the New Forest. His vicious life, his greed, and his impiety, had made him hated by all his people. "For in his day all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose in the sight of God and the world."¹

Henry Beauclerc, 1100-1135.

§ 66. Accession of Henry I.—No sooner was William dead than his younger brother, Henry, seized the throne. To conciliate at once the clergy, the barons, and the people

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

he issued a charter containing promises of relief from unjust taxation. To please his English subjects he married a descendant of the Saxon kings of England—**Edith**, or **Matilda** as the Normans called her, niece of **Edgar the Atheling**. And he had his reward. It was by the aid of the English levies that he was able to defeat his brother **Robert's** claim to the English crown, to suppress a baronial rising, and to secure Normandy and take both **Robert** and **Edgar** prisoners at the battle of **Tinchebrai** (S. Normandy).

§ 67. **The Dispute over Investitures.**—One of Henry's first and most popular acts was to recall Archbishop **Anselm** to England. The Archbishop returned with rather lofty ideas of church independence. He objected, for instance, to the appointment of bishops and abbots by the Crown. But Henry, like other monarchs of his time, insisted on having some control over subjects who were landowners as well as churchmen. After a serious dispute Henry and **Anselm** agreed to a compromise. It was arranged that the bishops and abbots were to be elected, but only in the king's court, where the royal influence was paramount, and that, though they were no longer to receive from the Crown the ring and staff, the symbols of their spiritual office, they were to do homage for their lands and to swear fealty to the king.

§ 68. **Henry's Civil Government.**—With the aid of **Roger of Salisbury**, the *Justiciar*, as the king's chief minister was now called, Henry steadily improved the government of the country. **Roger** reorganised the king's court, or council of magnates; he revived the local popular courts, and he began to connect local administration and central government by sending itinerant justices on circuit to hear disputes.

§ 69. **The Close of Henry's Reign.**—In 1120 Henry's

son and heir was drowned in the *White Ship* on his return from a war in defence of Normandy. It was said that the king never smiled again. Though his power was great, his closing years were embittered by anxiety about the succession to the throne. He died in 1135. The English disliked his taxation, but they appreciated his justice, and they had good reason to mourn for him when he was dead. "He was a good man, and great was the awe of him . . . he made peace for men and deer."¹

Stephen of Blois, 1135-1154.

§ 70. **Civil War, 1139-1149.**—Henry had tried to secure the throne for his daughter the **Empress Matilda**, widow of the Emperor Henry V.² and wife of Geoffrey of Anjou, by making the barons swear fealty to her. But he was no sooner dead than they forgot their oaths. They preferred her cousin, **Stephen**, son of one of the Conqueror's daughters. Matilda was at first supported by her uncle, the king of Scotland. But he was defeated at the **Battle of the Standard** near Northallerton, and finally bought off by being allowed to hold Cumberland without doing homage for it.

§ 71. **Unwise Government of Stephen.**—For a time Stephen remained in possession of the throne. Before long, however, he offended his people by bringing over mercenary troops from abroad. He also alienated the Church by quarrelling with Roger of Salisbury, and he diminished his own power by allowing the barons of his party to build new castles. War broke out and he was captured at Lincoln, and imprisoned. **Matilda** took his place, but her rule was harsh, and she soon became so unpopular that Stephen was able to resume the crown.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

² See §§ 13 and 14 and p. 42 note

A few years later the Empress gave up the struggle and left England.

§ 72/ **The End of the Civil War.**—In the meantime Matilda's son Henry of Anjou was growing old enough and powerful enough to take her place. In 1153 he appeared in England with a hostile army; and Stephen, who was not strong enough to oppose him, willingly came to terms. The civil war was accordingly ended by the Treaty of Wallingford. It was arranged that Stephen should hold the crown for life, and that Henry should help him to govern while he lived and succeed him when he died. Stephen died in the following year.

§ 73. **The Feudal Anarchy of Stephen's Reign.**—King Stephen was generous, courageous, and good-natured. But only a strong man could hope to keep order among feudal barons, and Stephen was exceptionally weak in character. When the barons "perceived that he was a mild man and a soft,"¹ each did what was right in his own eyes. The closing pages of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tell how they filled the land full of castles, how they burnt the towns, how they imprisoned and tortured men and women in order to extort money or goods from them, and how they brought ruin and famine upon the land. "These things and more than we can say,"¹ says the chronicler of Stephen's reign sadly, "did we suffer nineteen years for our sins."

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

CHAPTER V.

Henry II. and his Sons, 1154-1216.

(a) Henry I.I: born 1133; married Eleanor of Aquitaine 1152; died 1189.

(b) Richard I., *Cœur-de-Lion*: born 1157; married Berengaria of Navarre 1191; died 1199.

(c) John, *Lackland*: born 1167; married (a) Hawise of Gloucester 1189; divorced 1200; (b) Isabella of Angoulême 1201; died 1216.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Western Empire. | Papacy. | France. | Scotland. |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--|--|
| Henry VI. (1190) | Innocent III. (1198-1216) | Louis VII. (1137) Philip II. <i>Augustus</i> (1180-1223) | Malcolm IV. (1153) William I. <i>The Lion</i> (1165) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--|--|
| 1154. Accession of Henry II. 1164. Constitutions of Clarendon. 1166-72. Conquest of Ireland. 1170. Murder of Archbishop Thomas. | 1173-74. Great Feudal Revolt. 1189. Accession of Richard. 1199. Accession of John. 1215. Magna Carta. |
|--|--|

Henry II., 1154-1189.

§ 74. Character of Henry II.—The new king of England was strong, able, and industrious. He was indefatigable in learning, in hunting, and in war. Though his temper was fiery, his rule was just as well as firm; and his great

possessions made him very powerful. He was King of England under the Treaty of Wallingford. From his father he had inherited **Anjou** and **Touraine**. Through his mother, as the descendant of the Norman dukes, he had succeeded to **Normandy**, and **Maine**. By his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, he acquired **Aquitaine**. At a later date he also secured **Brittany** in consequence of the marriage of his third son Geoffrey with the heiress of its duke.

§ 75. **The Restoration of Order.**—To restore order after the feudal anarchy of Stephen's reign was no easy task. But the misery which the English had endured under Stephen had taught them to value a strong government and to fear the independence of the barons. The king knew also that he could count on his people's support. He promptly revived his grandfather's system of justice, and he destroyed all the strongholds which the barons had built without royal licence.

§ 76. **Henry's Relations with Wales and Scotland.**—Though Henry had to give a great deal of attention to his continental dominions, he did not neglect to strengthen and to extend his rule within the British Isles. Since William Rufus had given the Border earls leave to take what they could from **Wales**, the English frontier had been pushed steadily westward. Henry extended it still further by subduing a large part of **Wales**, but the mountainous, inaccessible character of the north prevented a complete conquest. He compelled the King of Scotland to give up the territory which Stephen had ceded; and when a later king, William the Lion, invaded England on behalf of the English barons and was defeated at **Alnwick** (1174), Henry made him do homage for his kingdom and acknowledge Henry's overlordship.

§ 77. *Thomas Becket*.—One of the king's chief advisers was Thomas Becket, the able son of a London merchant. He had been Henry's friend and confidant, and had done much to help him to the throne. To reward him Henry first made him Chancellor—or in other words the keeper of his seal and manager of his secretaries—and later Archbishop of Canterbury. Before he became Archbishop, Becket's life had been worldly and luxurious, but after his appointment he became the most strict of churchmen. Unfortunately for the peace of the kingdom his zeal for the independence of the Church was even greater than that of Anselm.

§ 78. *The Question of Clerical Jurisdiction*.—Already William I.'s separation of Church and State courts had led to serious evils. In virtue of the Conqueror's decree the Church claimed for her own courts the sole right of trying and punishing clergymen. This meant that the clergy, if guilty of great crimes, received very inadequate punishment, for the Church court had only power to inflict penances on the guilty persons, to excommunicate them, and to deprive them of their orders. Henry's impatience with this unsatisfactory state of things culminated when two priests committed murder and escaped the just punishment of their crime. He suggested that clerics, if condemned in an ecclesiastical court, should be degraded, and handed over to the king's officer for punishment. To this Becket would not agree.

§ 79. *The Constitutions of Clarendon*.—Henry thereupon caused an enquiry into English law to be made, and set forth the result in a document called the Constitutions of Clarendon. This document reasserted the claims of the King as against the Church in various matters of dispute. In particular it embodied Henry's proposal as to the juris-

diction of the church courts, and in addition laid down that the king's court should decide what persons were or were not clerks.

§ 80. **The Quarrel between Becket and the King.**—Becket at first agreed to the Constitutions, but later withdrew his consent. Thereupon Henry compelled him to leave the country. Peace was, however, restored in 1170, and Becket returned to England. But his first acts were not conciliatory, and Henry in a moment of exasperation expressed a hasty wish to be rid of “this turbulent priest.” Four knights unfortunately took him at his word and murdered the Archbishop in his own cathedral. Becket was henceforth revered as a martyr, and Henry's attempt to control the Church courts was frustrated. The king only won back the goodwill of his people by doing the most humble penance for the Archbishop's murder. He obtained the Pope's absolution by offering to conquer Ireland, which had received its Christianity from the British Church, and had never acknowledged the authority of Rome.

§ 81. **The Conquest of Ireland.**—Ireland was without union of any kind, and its chiefs were constantly struggling for supremacy. An opportunity for English interference offered itself when one Irish chieftain begged for aid against another. While nominally giving this aid, some of Henry's barons managed to get a firm hold of Dublin and the south-eastern corner of Ireland. Henry, fearing that they would make themselves independent, went over himself in 1171 to receive their homage and that of the Irish chiefs. While in Ireland he summoned a synod of the Irish clergy and induced them to acknowledge the authority of the Pope. He could not, however, stay long enough to make his conquest complete, and the English rule was not extended beyond the neighbourhood of Dublin.

§ 82. **Henry's Military Reforms.**—To put an end to feudal government and to substitute for it a strong central administration was Henry's chief aim. He dealt his first blow at the military power of his vassals. Instead of exacting military service, he allowed them to pay him scutage, or shield-money. With the money thus obtained he was able to hire mercenary troops who were entirely under his own control, instead of leading into the field a semi-independent feudal host. At the same time he strengthened the militia by a law known as the **Assize of Arms**, which compelled every freeman to be supplied with weapons for the defence of his country.

§ 83. **Henry's Civil Reforms.**—The same aims inspired the king's administrative reforms. He sent the itinerant justices into the shires more regularly and frequently, and he improved the working of the local courts by a series of laws or assizes. By the **Grand Assize** he ordained that the method of collecting information from sworn representative freemen, begun by William I. when he made the Domesday survey, was to be used in civil disputes, and by the **Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton** he applied it to the detection of criminals. In the use of these sworn representatives, though they were witnesses rather than jurymen, may be seen the beginnings of our modern method of trial by jury.

§ 84. **Trial by Ordeal.**—It had been the custom, from Anglo-Saxon times onwards, to subject to an ordeal a man who was considered by his neighbours to be guilty of crime. He was either thrown into water and judged according as he sank or swam, or he was made to grasp a red-hot iron or walk blindfold over red-hot ploughshares. In the latter case he was considered innocent if he showed no wounds after three days. But even then he was outlawed. Possibly no one was put to the ordeal whose guilt was not

already fairly well established. After 1176 trial by jury gradually superseded trial by ordeal.

§ 85. **The Great Feudal Revolt.**—Henry had hoped to strengthen his rule by making his sons help him in the work of government. He set each one to govern a group of his continental dominions, and had the eldest, **Henry**, crowned King of England. But the only result was that they wanted more power, and to get it allied themselves with his foes both at home and abroad. Thus Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey took part in the **Feudal Revolt** of 1173-4, which was the last attempt of the barons to resist the substitution of royal for feudal government. It was a union of all Henry's enemies—his sons, the barons, the kings of France and Scotland, and Philip, Count of Flanders. But its defeat in Henry's absence by the English militia, under the king's ministers, showed the strength of the new central government.

§ 86. **Death of Henry II.**—The king's first and third sons died young, and after their deaths **John**, the youngest, joined **Richard**, the second son, and the King of France in an invasion of Anjou. Henry died broken-hearted, not so much by his failure to check Richard, as by the news that **John**, whom he trusted, had proved unfaithful. He passed away, murmuring sadly to himself: "Shame, shame on a conquered king." But to few if to any other of the kings of England has the country owed a greater debt than to this "conquered king," the "lion-like" Henry.

Richard I., 1189-1199.

§ 87. **Richard's Accession.**—Henry II. was succeeded by his son Richard. Though he reigned ten years, the new king only paid two short visits to England. On the first occasion he came to raise money for the **third Crusade**.

When Henry II. died, all Western Europe was preparing to recover Jerusalem, which had been captured by the Christians during the first Crusade, but retaken by the Sultan Saladin in 1187. Richard raised the money by selling state offices, and by releasing the King of Scotland, in return for a large sum, from the homage which he had promised to Henry II.

§ 88. *Richard's Wars.*—The king then went in person to the Holy Land. On his way he conquered Cyprus, and while in Syria took part in the siege and capture of Acre. Little more, however, could be done. The crusading troops were weakened by disease, and by the jealousies of the different nations who composed them. Richard, therefore, turned his face towards England, where his brother John was exciting rebellions, which made his presence in the country very necessary.

§ 89. *Richard's Captivity and Death.*—On his way home he was captured by the Duke of Austria, whom he had offended at Acre. The Duke sold him to the Emperor.¹ After he had been a year in captivity a huge ransom was paid for Richard and he returned to England. He stayed two months only, but in that time restored order. The rest of his life he spent abroad in warfare with the King of France. He met his death at the castle of Chaluz in Limousin, which he had besieged in order to obtain possession of some treasure which one of his vassals had found and refused to give up.

§ 90. *Character of Richard.*—Not much can be said for a king who showed so little interest in his kingdom as Richard. But fortunately for England the king's absence was on the whole a benefit to the country. It taught the

¹ The German king who had the title of Roman Emperor (cp. page 34).

ministers of the king's court to carry on the government by themselves, and in doing so they continued and developed the work of Henry II. Richard, though unstatesmanlike and impetuous, was an admirable soldier and general. Generous and high-spirited, he deserved the name by which he was known to his own and later generations—Richard the Lion-hearted.

John, 1199-1216.

§ 91. Accession of John.—Richard's brother John succeeded to the throne, although by descent his nephew Arthur of Brittany was the true heir. But the English crown had not yet become hereditary, and as Arthur was very young it seemed wiser to choose John. Arthur's supporters made an attempt to gain the throne for him, but it failed, and Arthur did homage to John for Brittany. Before long, however, the struggle was renewed. Arthur fell into his uncle's hands, and soon after disappeared. There can be little doubt that he was murdered. The belief that John had murdered him was at any rate general, and it proved useful to the king's enemies. It gave Philip of France an excuse for attacking John's French dominions, and before the end of the year 1204 the King of France had conquered Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine.

§ 92. John's Quarrel with the Pope.—In 1205 King John quarrelled with the Pope over the appointment of an archbishop of Canterbury. An archbishop was usually chosen by agreement between king and Pope, and then recommended to the monks of Canterbury for election. But in this case the monks chose their sub-prior without waiting for instructions. John forced them to make a second election of a friend of his own. The matter being

referred to Rome, the Pope ordered the monks to ignore both elections and to choose a great English scholar, **Stephen Langton**. The Pope's choice was the wisest, but his claim to appoint an archbishop of Canterbury on his own authority was not one which an English king was likely to tolerate, and John refused to accept Stephen.

§ 93. **The Papal Victory.**—To compel him to yield, the Pope placed England under an interdict, that is to say he ordered all the churches to be closed, and all public services to be discontinued. John in return fined and plundered the clergy who obeyed the Pope. The Pope replied by excommunicating John; and finally he declared him deposed, and talked of bestowing the English crown on the King of France. Philip prepared to invade England, John to defend it. But John was unpopular and knew it. He could not trust the loyalty of his subjects, and so he gave way. John's manner of yielding was as abject as his resistance had been obstinate. He promised to receive Stephen Langton and to compensate the clergy for the losses they had suffered at his hands. He also acknowledged that he held his kingdom as a fief of the Papacy, and undertook to pay the Pope an annual tribute.

§ 94. **The Invasion of France.**—John was saved; for the Pope commanded Philip to give up his designs against England, and almost at the same time the French fleet was destroyed by some English ships and the invasion rendered impossible. The English king was not slow to retaliate. He invaded France in person from Poitou in the west, while his continental allies, chief of whom was Otto the Emperor, John's nephew and like him the Pope's enemy, threatened the northern frontier. Philip, however, utterly routed the latter near Bouvines, and John was obliged to withdraw in haste.

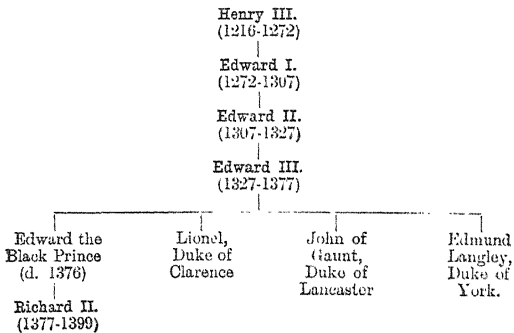
§ 95. *Magna Carta*, 1215.—The new archbishop, Stephen Langton, now took the lead in a growing demand for better government. Inspired by him, the barons gathered an army which was so powerful and popular that John gave way. At Runnymede, an island in the Thames between Staines and Windsor, he consented to their demands as expressed in the Great Charter of Liberties. The provisions of this famous document, though not altogether new, were numerous, and two were of the greatest importance.

- (1) Immunity from arbitrary taxation was promised to barons, clergy, freemen, and villeins alike. Except on certain specified occasions no tax was to be raised in future without the consent of the Common Council of the realm.
- (2) Every freeman had the right given him to claim a fair trial and could not be imprisoned except by the law of the land, and there was to be no delay or denial of right or justice.

These two clauses of *Magna Carta* are for ever memorable as the foundations of English law and liberty.

§ 96. French Invasion and Death of John.—John had no intention of observing the Charter. He at once collected an army of hired troops and prepared for war. Thereupon the barons in alarm invited Louis, the son of Philip of France, to come to their aid. Louis brought an army into England, and was gaining ground when John suddenly died, to the great relief of his subjects. Before his death he had made himself enemies on every hand, and had lost the greater part of his territories. Able as he was, he had been unable to avert the disaster which his vile character and odious life had brought upon him. He is known in history as the worst of English kings: his contemporaries used stronger language—"Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John."

THE LAST FIVE PLANTAGENET KINGS.



BOOK III.

The Rise of Parliament, 1216-1327.

Introduction.

§ 97. **The Beginnings of Constitutional Opposition to the Crown.**—The main feature of the period covered by the reigns of the next three kings is the growth of Parliament. The Norman and Angevin kings of England had substituted for the feudal system of government a strong central administration of government officials. After the suppression of the Great Feudal Revolt, the barons may be said to have accepted the change. Soon afterwards they ceased to be a selfish, unruly, and independent class, and became national leaders. When they helped the clergy to wrest Magna Carta from John, their object was no longer to make themselves independent, but to secure a better government for their country.

§ 98. **Gradual Growth of Parliament.**—During the minority of Henry III., the wise government of his ministers made the interference of the barons unnecessary, but later the misrule of the king compelled them again to play the part of constitutional leaders. For a time the only alternative they had to offer to the rule of the king was government by a council of their own class. But at last, under the leadership of **Simon de Montfort**, they admitted the middle classes to a share in the government. The policy of de Montfort was developed by **Edward I.** until it resulted in the formation of a national parliament.

§ 99. Development of the Great Council into a Parliament.—After the Norman Conquest the Witan changed both its name and its nature. It was called the Great Council, and was much more a feudal council than an assembly of wise men. A completely feudal council would, however, have included all the king's tenants-in-chief¹, and no one besides. But not all tenants-in-chief seem to have been summoned to the council of the Norman kings, and bishops and abbots still sat in it as men of wisdom and authority rather than as great land-owners. In course of time the Great Council lost its feudal character.

§ 100. Final Steps in the Formation of Parliament.—A distinction first arose between the greater and lesser barons. The latter, though they as well as the greater barons were tenants-in-chief, shirked attendance at the king's council, and would have ceased to form part of it altogether had they not been called upon to send knights of the shire to represent them. When these elected representatives, who did not claim to sit as tenants-in-chief, were added to the council, it lost its feudal character and became a Parliament. The way had long been prepared for this last step in the formation of Parliament by the use of a system of elective representation in the shire courts (cp. pp. 29, 40). By the time of Henry III. it had become the custom of the government to seek any needed information from local elected representatives sworn to tell the truth.

§ 101. Elective Representation in Central Assemblies.—The kings soon discovered that to send their officers round the country to collect information was a slow process, and that it would be easier and quicker to get what they wanted

¹ *I.e.* those who held their lands directly from the sovereign and owned no superior but the king.

by summoning representatives of the different classes to a central assembly. In 1213 King John summoned representative knights of the shire to a council at **St. Albans**. The knights of the shire were summoned again in 1254 and 1264, and in 1265 Simon de Montfort took the new and important step of summoning representatives of the cities and boroughs. His policy was developed by Edward I., and the Commons became an established part of Parliament during the reign of Edward II., when after the battle of Boroughbridge (§ 130) the Parliament which met at York absolved Edward from his consent to the ordinances of 1310 (§ 127) on the ground that they had not been sanctioned by the Commons.

§ 102. **The Division of Parliament into Two Houses.**—The addition of elected representatives to the Council of barons made Parliament so large in the reign of Edward II. that it was shortly afterwards divided into two houses. The greater barons, together with the bishops and abbots, formed the **House of Lords**. The knights of the shire and the representatives of the cities and boroughs, who were already accustomed to work together in the shire courts, united to form the **House of Commons**. Edward I. summoned the lower clergy to sit in Parliament, but they were ultimately content with their own convocations of Canterbury and York.

CHAPTER VI.

Henry III., 1216-1272.

Born 1207 ; married Eleanor of Provence 1236 ; died 1272.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Western Empire. | France. |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Frederick II. (1212-1250) | Louis IX. (1226-1274) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1216. Accession of Henry. | 1265. Parliament of Simon de Montfort. |
| 1217. Fair of Lincoln. | 1265. Battle of Evesham and death of Simon. |
| 1258. Mad Parliament and Provisions of Oxford. | |
| 1264. Battle of Lewes. | |

§ 103.¹ **The Struggle between Henry and Louis, 1216-1217.**—John was no sooner dead than the barons regretted having brought the French into the kingdom. Though no minor had ever before sat on the throne of England, they accepted John's son, a boy of nine, as king, and gradually deserted Louis. In the year following Henry's accession the French prince was severely defeated in a battle called the **Fair of Lincoln**, and the French fleet was destroyed off Dover. Louis agreed to leave the country before the close of the year 1217.

§ 104. **The Minority of Henry III., 1216-1227.**—During the minority of the king, England was well governed by his guardian **William the Marshall**, Earl of Pembroke, and, after the death of William the Marshall in 1219, by **Hubert de Burgh**. Under their authority the French were driven out of the kingdom, John's unruly courtiers and mercenaries were put down, and order was again restored. One of the chief aims of Hubert de Burgh's policy was to keep foreigners from exercising undue influence in England, and, amongst other things, to limit the increasing power of the Pope. His work was facilitated by the sympathy and support which he received from **Stephen Langton**, Archbishop of Canterbury.

§ 105. **The Fall of Hubert de Burgh.**—When Henry III. came of age in 1227, he at first kept Hubert de Burgh as his chief minister. But the death of Stephen Langton in 1228 deprived Hubert of the archbishop's valuable support, the barons were growing jealous of his power, and in course of time the weak but self-confident and obstinate king began to share their feeling. Hubert was anxious to induce Henry to devote his attention to the good government of England, but the king's great wish was to regain the continental dominions which John had lost. Hubert dissuaded him from trying to recover **Normandy**, but could not keep him from invading **Poitou** in 1231. The expedition was unsuccessful, and Henry laid the blame of the failure on his minister. In 1232 Hubert was arrested and put in prison. Though he was shortly afterwards released, he was never again restored to power.

§ 106. **The Misrule of Henry III.**—The fall of Hubert de Burgh was followed by twenty-six years of bad government. For twenty-four years Henry ruled without a chief minister, and during that time entirely lost the affection

and loyalty of his people. As early as 1237 the barons complained of his extortions and of the favour which he showed to aliens. An influx of foreigners had begun with the fall of Hubert de Burgh, and after Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence and his expedition abroad it became a serious grievance.

§ 107. **The King's Encouragement of Aliens.**—Henry bestowed bishoprics, offices, castles, and earldoms upon foreigners, and put nearly the whole work of administration into their hands. Year by year the hatred felt by the nation for these aliens, "whose wont it is ever to be friends to themselves and not to the kingdom,"¹ grew stronger. The general discontent was increased by the king's support of the Pope, whose taxation was felt to be a great burden. The ordinary papal taxes consisted of Peter's Pence (first paid by Offa), and annates or first-fruits (the first year's revenue from bishoprics and abbacies). Besides these the Pope was accustomed to raise extraordinary taxes for special purposes.

§ 108. **The Opposition of the Barons to the Crown.**—In 1254 the Pope, having deposed the king of Sicily, who was the son of his old enemy the late Emperor,² offered to conquer the island for Henry's younger son. Henry accepted the offer and in 1257 asked his subjects to pay the expenses of the war. The barons, being of the opinion that the king was asking them to support the private quarrels of the Pope, thereupon determined to take the government out of his hands. An armed Parliament, called by the royalists the **Mad Parliament**, met at Oxford and compelled Henry to put the government into the hands of a council of twenty-four men, chosen half by himself and half by the barons. This council drew up a

¹ *Matthew Paris*, vol. iii., p. 383.

² See § 94.

scheme of government which Henry swore to observe. In accordance with this scheme, which is known to history as the **Provisions of Oxford**, the administration of the kingdom was entrusted to several baronial committees.

§ 109. **Division in the Baronial Party.**—A division soon arose in the baronial party. The knights, led by **Simon de Montfort**, Earl of Leicester, and supported by **Edward**, the king's eldest son, asked for a more popular reform. At this point Henry, who thought that the disagreement of the barons gave him a chance of regaining his power, induced the Pope to absolve him from his oaths. Civil war was the inevitable result, though the barons and the king at first tried to avoid it by asking **Louis IX.** of France to arbitrate between them. Louis' decision was however almost entirely favourable to Henry, and the barons refused to accept it.

§ 110/ **Simon de Montfort.**—The leader of the baronial party, **Simon de Montfort**, was a foreigner by birth. But he had some English blood in his veins, and he was English by choice. He had married the king's sister, and had been appointed Governor of Gascony. While abroad he had done good work and learnt many lessons in the art of government. He had also learnt not to trust the king's gratitude. He gradually sank in the royal favour, but became popular with the people. He was an able general as well as an efficient ruler, and to his military talent the baronial party owed much of its subsequent success.

§ 111. **The Barons' War.**—The first contest took place at **Lewes**. The barons were victorious; and the king and **Edward**, who had gone over to his father's side on the outbreak of the war, were made prisoners. For more than a year afterwards "Sir Simon the Righteous," as the people called him, controlled the government. In 1265 De

Montfort, by summoning representatives of some cities and boroughs to a central assembly, took an important step towards a parliament. Knights of the shire had already been summoned to meet the barons and clergy, but De Montfort was the first to summon representatives of the middle classes. His assembly, however, hardly deserved the name of a parliament, for he summoned his own supporters only. A little later Edward escaped from captivity. He surprised De Montfort and his army at Evesham, and a battle followed in which Earl Simon was slain. The people mourned him as a hero and a martyr.

§ 112. *Close of the Reign.*—Peace was restored by Edward, and in 1272 the country was so quiet that he ventured to join a crusade. In his absence the petty and poor-spirited king died. Though his personal government had been a failure, his reign was a great one, for it had considerable constitutional importance. It saw also the **Coming of the Friars**. The Friars were the members of two new religious orders, usually called, after the names of their founders, Dominican and Franciscan. They did not, as did the monks, retire from the world and its temptations to save their own souls and to pray for the souls of other men. They went forth instead to teach and to heal the poor and the diseased, and to ennoble their fellow-men by the example of a holy life.

CHAPTER VII.

Edward I. and his Son, 1272-1327.

- (a) Edward I., born 1239 ; married (a) Eleanor of Castile 1254,
 (b) Margaret, daughter of Philip III. of France, 1299 ; died 1307.
 (b) Edward II., born 1284 ; married Isabella, daughter of
 Philip IV. of France, 1308 ; murdered 1327.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Scotland. |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Philip IV., <i>the Fair</i> (1285) | Alexander III. (1249) Margaret (1286) John Balliol (1292) Robert I., <i>Bruce</i> (1306-1329) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--|--|
| 1272. Accession of Edward I. | 1297. Confirmatio Cartarum. |
| 1277-1284. Conquest of Wales. | 1297-8. Scottish Rising under Wallace. |
| 1279. Statute of Mortmain or De Religiosis. | 1298. Battle of Falkirk. |
| 1292. Award of Norham. | 1306-7. Scottish Rising under Robert Bruce. |
| 1295. Revolt of Balliol. | 1307. Accession of Edward II. |
| 1295. The Model Parliament. | 1314. Battle of Bannockburn. |
| 1296. Victory of Edward at Dunbar and submission of Balliol. | 1327. Deposition and Murder of Edward II. |

Edward I., 1272-1307.

§ 113. Character of Edward I.—The new king was as unlike his well-meaning but incapable father as a son could be. He was almost as great, and good, and wise as Alfred,

the best of the English kings. The promises of Henry III. had been made only to be broken, but Edward's were trustworthy. He had a sincere love for his country and a passion for law and order. He was an excellent ruler and an able general. To govern his kingdom well and to unite all Great Britain under his sway were the chief aims of his life. He began his work with the conquest of Wales.

§ 114. **Invasion of Wales.**—After the Norman Conquest most of the south and centre of Wales had passed into the hands of the Border Earls or Lords Marchers as they were called. But the mountainous north-west remained unconquered and was a continual source of trouble to the English kings. **Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales**, had supported Simon de Montfort in the reign of Henry III., and on the accession of Edward refused to do him homage. Edward thereupon marched an army into Wales. The Welsh as usual sought refuge in their mountains, but Edward starved them into submission by blocking the outlets from the hills.

§ 115. **Conquest of Wales.**—Edward allowed Llewellyn to rule Wales until he and his brother David were unwise enough a little later to try to shake off the king's control. A renewed struggle ensued; Llewellyn was killed in a skirmish, and David was taken prisoner and executed. With the deaths of these two princes the conquest of Wales was complete, and Edward was able to introduce English laws into Wales. To reconcile the Welsh to the new government he allowed them to retain some of their old customs. He also tried to conciliate their national pride by giving the title of **Prince of Wales** to his infant son.

§ 116. **Edward and Scotland.**—Edward wished to bring Scotland as well as Wales under his rule, and he believed that he was already by right suzerain or overlord of

Scotland. The exact amount of supremacy which Edward was entitled to claim is not clear. Scottish kings had acknowledged the overlordship of Edward the Elder, William I., and Henry II.; and for the southern parts of Scotland, which they had received from English kings in return for a promise of fidelity, they certainly owed homage. On the other hand William the Lion had been freed by Richard I. from the promises he had made to Henry II., and Edward I. was not entitled to claim a full feudal suzerainty. But he thought that he was, and he meant to make the Scots acknowledge his claim.

§ 117. **The Rivalry of Bruce and Balliol.**—At first it seemed as if Edward would gain his end by peaceful means. After the death of Alexander III. of Scotland a marriage was arranged between his granddaughter and only descendant, Margaret of Norway, and Edward's eldest son. Unfortunately the little queen died on her way from Norway to Scotland. A number of rival claimants to the Scottish crown at once appeared, the chief being Alexander's distant cousins **John Balliol** and **Robert Bruce**. In those days there were no settled rules of inheritance. Balliol claimed the crown as the descendant of an elder branch of the Scottish royal family than that of Bruce, Bruce as a nearer relative of the late king.

§ 118. **The Award of Norham.**—Balliol and Bruce agreed to allow Edward to arbitrate between them, and Edward decided in favour of Balliol by the **Award of Norham**. Balliol, in return, did homage for his throne to the English king. But he soon found Edward's claim of suzerainty irksome, and in 1295 he revolted and sought the alliance of France. Edward promptly drove him from his throne, declared his kingdom forfeit, removed from Scone to Westminster the stone on which Scottish kings were wont to

be crowned and put the administration of the kingdom into the hands of Englishmen.

§ 119. **Edward's Laws.**—Edward improved the militia and the Central Court of justice in England, and passed some excellent land laws. The object of these last was to put a stop to various devices by which the duties and payments attached to the possession of land were evaded. Thus the object of the Statute of Mortmain or De Religiosis was to check the accumulation of lands in the dead hands of religious corporations. As a corporation never was a minor, never married and never died, the king lost his feudal dues from all land owned by such bodies. The principle of Edward's government was expressed in his own words: "what touches all should be approved by all." The majority of his reforms were made with the assent of the classes whom they chiefly concerned. At first only the barons, bishops, and abbots were summoned to his Council. Occasionally representative knights were added.

§ 120. **The Model Parliament.**—But when Edward was at war with both France and Scotland he felt that he needed the support of all his subjects, and he summoned representatives of the cities and boroughs as well as knights to a central assembly. De Montfort had only summoned representatives of his own party, but Edward summoned representatives from all cities and boroughs, and thus for the first time brought together a complete Parliament in England. Because in it Clergy, Lords, and Commons were all fully represented, this assembly is known as the **Model Parliament**. Parliament had still, however, some changes to undergo before its form exactly resembled that of a modern Parliament. It still included the lower clergy and it was not divided into two houses. Its powers were strictly limited; its chief function being

to decide the amount of money which the king might obtain by taxation.

§ 121. **Edward's Quarrel with the Church.**—In the meantime Edward had offended various classes of his subjects by raising taxes without their consent. Being in great need of money for his war, he seized and taxed the wool of the merchants on several occasions, and also took large grants from the clergy, barons, and knights. Thereupon the Pope, by a bull—known as *Clericis Laicos*—forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the State. Edward, however, by outlawing the English clergy soon brought them to terms. They consented to grant him money as before, but called it a voluntary gift instead of a tax.

§ 122. **Edward's Quarrel with the Barons, and the Confirmatio Cartarum.**—Before this question was settled, Edward had fallen out with his barons also. They refused to fight for him in Gascony while he was fighting in Flanders, and during his absence they and the clergy prepared a new version of *Magna Carta* and submitted it to the king for signature. Edward signed the document, which is known as the *Confirmatio Cartarum*, and in so doing promised that taxes of the kind he had recently levied should not again be raised without consent of Parliament.

§ 123. **Rebellion in Scotland.**—In 1297 Edward had to suppress a rising in Scotland. Sir **William Wallace**, an Ayrshire knight, rebelled against the English Government and defeated a large army at **Cambuskenneth**. Edward thereupon took the field in person. In his Welsh wars he had noticed how much more effective a long-bow drawn to the ear was than the old short-bow drawn to the breast, and he made good use of his experience when he met Wallace at **Falkirk**. He ordered his long-bow men to make gaps in the dense battle array of the Scots, and,

having thus broken their formation, he completely routed Wallace's army by a well-timed cavalry charge.

§ 124. **Edward's last Contests with France and Scotland.**—Wallace fled to France. Some years later he returned to Scotland and was captured and executed. War with Scotland had been followed by war with France, but Edward brought this to a close by arranging a marriage between his son Edward and Isabella, daughter of the King of France. He had still, however, another rebellion in Scotland to face. In 1306 **Robert Bruce**, grandson of Balliol's rival, having murdered another claimant Comyn, Balliol's nephew, had himself crowned at Scone. Though his first rising failed he made another attempt in the following year. Edward was marching north to crush him when he died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle.

§ 125. **The Work of Edward I.**—Edward's aim of uniting Great Britain under his rule had only been partly successful. He had conquered **Wales**, but he had failed to subdue **Scotland**. He had, moreover, inspired the Scots with a lasting hatred of England, with the result that they formed an alliance with France which was a menace to England for three hundred years. But his other aim—that of good government—had been brilliantly successful. By giving England a representative **Parliament** he had completed the work of substituting central for feudal government. And by signing the *Confirmatio Cartarum* he practically put the control of taxation into the hands of Parliament, and thus prepared the way for a further development of parliamentary government. In short, by acting upon his famous maxim that "what concerns all should be approved by all," he had laid the foundations of government "by the people for the people."

Edward II., 1307-1327.

§ 126. **Edward and Piers Gaveston.**—Edward II. was a complete contrast to his father. Amiable, weak-willed, and incurably idle, he was even less fitted to rule than his grandfather, Henry III. He took no interest in the government of his kingdom, he was conspicuously unwise in his choice of friends, and was easily led by unworthy favourites. His first favourite was **Piers Gaveston**, a Gascon knight, whom Edward I. had dismissed from his court. But the new king, in this as in other matters, disregarded his father's wishes. He not only recalled Piers, but also entrusted him with considerable power.

§ 127. **The Lords Ordainers.**—In 1310 the barons attempted to deprive Gaveston of all control over the government. They appointed twenty-one magnates to regulate the king's household and to draw up a scheme of reform. The **Lords Ordainers**, as these magnates were called, framed a number of ordinances, the object of which was to give Parliament some control over the king's ministers and to compel Edward to observe the charters. Gaveston shortly afterwards fell into the hands of the Ordainers and was executed without a trial. Edward was powerless to save him or to punish his murderers.

§ 128. **Edward II. and Scotland.**—On his death-bed Edward I. had commanded his son to continue the conquest of Scotland. For seven years, however, Edward II. looked listlessly on while **Robert Bruce** secured all the Scottish strongholds except Stirling. But the importance of Stirling induced even Edward II. to try to save it. He encountered Bruce at **Bannockburn** almost under its walls.

§ 129. **The Battle of Bannockburn.**—Bruce's army was drawn up, as Wallace's had been at Falkirk, into dense masses of spearmen supported by cavalry and archers. Edward had all the advantage of a larger army, but he had no military talent. He made the mistake of leaving the left flank of his body of long-bow men unprotected, so that they were dispersed by a charge of Scottish horse. Thus when he ordered a frontal attack of cavalry, his horsemen could make no impression on the solid ranks of the Scottish host, which had suffered nothing from the archers and was well protected in front and on the flanks by a bog and pits. As the English fell back in confusion, they saw a body of camp-followers coming down from a height on the left. Believing them to be Scottish reinforcements they fled panic-stricken from the field. Thus ended Edward II.'s first and last attempt to conquer Scotland.

§ 130. **The Despensers.**—Edward's last favourites were a father and son, both bearing the name of **Hugh the Despenser**. They were *Lords Marchers* and had an hereditary feud with their neighbours, the Mortimers. Parliament exiled them in 1321. But next year Edward raised some troops and recalled his favourites. He defeated the barons' army at **Boroughbridge**, and put Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, one of the Ordainers, to death.

§ 131. **Deposition and Death of Edward II.**—In the meantime the queen, Isabella, while on a visit to France, had joined forces with Roger Mortimer, the exiled enemy of the Despensers. She returned to England with Mortimer and a small body of hired troops, and attacked both the Despensers and the king. The Despensers were taken and killed, and Edward was put in prison. He was forced to resign the crown in favour of his son, and before the end of 1327 was murdered in Berkeley Castle.

BOOK IV.

The Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses, 1327-1485.

Introduction.

§ 132. **The Hundred Years' War.**—A series of disputes about the succession to the French throne began in Edward III.'s reign, and resulted in the long though not continuous struggle known as the **Hundred Years' War**. The first part of the reign was marked by a succession of great victories, the second part saw a gradual loss of the English conquests. The French sympathies of Richard II. and the poverty of Henry IV. caused an interval of peace after the death of Edward III. War was begun again with brilliant success by Henry V. Helped by the disunion of France, he conquered Normandy and secured the succession to the French throne by the **Treaty of Troyes**.

§ 133. **Outbreak of the Wars of the Roses and Expulsion of the English from France.**—In the reign of Henry VI. the position was reversed. Whereas there had formerly been disunion in France, there was now disunion in England; and whereas the English had formerly possessed the best weapon of the age in their long-bow, the French now possessed it in their artillery. The result was the expulsion of the English from all their French possessions except **Calais**.

§ 134. **The Powers of Parliament.**—During the next five reigns the expenses of a heavy war, the poverty of the kings,

and the uncertainty of the succession to the throne after the death of **Edward III.** gave Parliament the opportunity of acquiring very extensive powers. It claimed the right to refuse to grant money, or to grant it on its own terms only; it denied that extraordinary taxes could be levied without its consent; it brought the king's ministers to account, and it changed the succession to the crown. But it showed itself quite unable to keep order: it was helpless in the hands of the great nobles during the **Wars of the Roses**, and it intervened most unwisely in foreign policy. Hence it shared the ruin of the House of Lancaster and lost its newly acquired powers for a time. The Yorkist kings ignored Parliament and the Tudors controlled it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Edward III. and his Grandson, 1327-1399.

(a) Edward III., born 1312; married Philippa of Hainault or Hennegau 1328; died 1377.

(b) Richard II., born 1366; married (i) Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., 1382, (ii) Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, 1396; compelled to abdicate 1399; probably murdered 1400.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Scotland. |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Philip VI., of <i>Valois</i> (1328) John (1350) Charles VI. (1380-1422) | Robert I. (1306) David II. (1329) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1340. Naval victory of Sluys. | 1360. Treaty of Bretigny. |
| 1346. Battle of Crécy. | 1372. Defeat of English off La Rochelle. |
| 1346. Battle of Neville's Cross. | 1376. Death of the Black Prince. |
| 1347. Siege of Calais. | 1377. Accession of Richard II. |
| 1348. The Black Death. | 1381. Peasants' Rising. |
| 1351. Statute of Labourers. | 1399. Invasion of Bolingbroke and Deposition of Richard. |
| 1351. Statute of Provisors. | |
| 1353. Statute of Praemunire. | |
| 1356. Battle of Poitiers. | |

Edward III., 1327-1377.

§ 135. **Edward's Minority.**—After Edward II.'s death people began to suspect the queen and Mortimer of being attached to each other, and of having murdered Edward II.

on that account. They became very unpopular in consequence, and still more so when they acknowledged the independence of Scotland by a treaty which the people called the **Shameful Treaty**. When Edward III. was old enough to assume the government he had Mortimer arrested, accused of the murder of Edward II., and sent to the block. The queen was imprisoned for the rest of her life.

§ 136. **Edward III. and Scotland.**—In the early years of Edward's rule the struggle with Scotland was renewed. On the death of **Robert Bruce** in 1329 some Scottish refugees in England took advantage of the fact that his son David was a minor to put Edward, son of **John Balliol**, on the throne. But when the new king acknowledged Edward III. as his suzerain, the Scots dethroned him. The King of England thereupon marched to Scotland in person, and, after inflicting a crushing defeat on David's supporters at **Halidon Hill**, near **Berwick**, restored Balliol. In return for his aid, Balliol ceded Lothian to Edward, and for this was once more expelled by the Scots. **David Bruce**, who had found a refuge in France during his exile, finally secured the crown in 1341.

§ 137. **Causes of the French War.**—Edward III. had other causes of quarrel with the King of France besides his alliance with Scotland. Philip had harassed Guienne, and had aided the Count of Flanders in a struggle with his independent Flemish cities. These cities formed the chief market for wool, which at this time was the staple product of England, so that English trade suffered when they were harassed. It was to protect his French dominions from Philip, the north of England from Scotland, and his commerce with Flanders from interruption, that Edward put forward a claim to the French crown.

§ 138. **Edward III.'s Claim to the French Throne.**—Philip of Valois, as the heir in the male line, had succeeded to the French throne in virtue of the **Salic Law**, which excluded females from the succession. In the female line there were two nearer heirs, Charles the Bad, of Navarre, and Edward III., of England. Of these two, Charles, as belonging to the elder branch, had a better right according to modern ideas; but Edward III. could claim, as Robert Bruce had claimed in Scotland, to be a generation nearer the common ancestor than Charles. When Philip ascended the throne of France, Edward had recognised him as king and had done homage to him as overlord of Guienne; but he now maintained that the Salic Law was not meant to exclude the male heir of a female line.

§ 139. **First Stage of the Hundred Years' War, 1337-1347.**—Fighting began in Flanders, where the English won a naval victory off **Sluys**. Then followed several years of truce. In 1345, however, Philip once more attacked Guienne, and Edward decided to distract his attention by invading the north of France. He landed in Normandy and raided the country in the direction of Paris. As the French forces assembled he fell back towards Ponthieu, and eventually prepared to give battle near the village of **Crécy**. The English troops consisted mainly of yeomen armed with the long-bow, guarded on each flank by dismounted knights, and further protected by the two villages between which the English king had placed his army, for Edward never made the mistake of leaving his archers open to a flank attack. Philip's army, which was very much the larger, was chiefly composed of heavily-armed knights, with some archers and Genoese cross-bowmen.

§ 140. **The Battle of Crécy.**—The French king first sent his Genoese cross-bowmen into the battle. They were “weary of going a-foot that day”¹; their weapons were clumsy, and their delivery was so slow that they were easily routed by the English archers. The French knights then pushed to the front. For the first time the long-bowmen had to meet a frontal charge of mounted knights. The result triumphantly proved the long-bow to be the most formidable weapon of the age. Very few of the French knights were able to reach the English line, and soon the whole army was in flight. A year later Edward took Calais. In the meantime David of Scotland invaded England, but was taken prisoner at **Neville’s Cross**. Thereupon Edward, content with these victories, made a truce.

§ 141. **Second Stage of the War.**—In 1348 a plague called the Black Death visited England and war was not resumed until 1355. In 1356 the **Black Prince**, Edward’s eldest son, who had raided France from Gascony, was surrounded by the French and compelled to fight at **Poitiers**. The Black Prince drew up his troops in a “strong place” on a hill, well protected by hedges and bushes. On this occasion the French, remembering how their horses had been shot under them at Crécy, thought that they would close on foot and open the battle with only a small body of horse. But neither horse nor foot could make any progress. The English archers shot “so thick that the Frenchmen wist not which side to take heed.”² Two divisions were soon in disorder, and the Prince, taking the offensive at the right moment, disposed of the third. The French king John and many of the nobles of France were taken prisoners.

¹ Froissart.² *Ibid.*

§ 142. **The Treaty of Bretigny.**—This second stage of the war was closed by the Treaty of Bretigny. Edward agreed to give up his claim to the crown of France and to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou in return for full suzerainty over Aquitaine, Calais, and Ponthieu. Six years of comparative peace followed the Treaty of Bretigny. In 1367, however, the Black Prince took troops into Spain in aid of a Spanish king who had been deposed by a rival with the help of the French. He met with some success, but the expedition ruined his health.

§ 143 **Third Stage of the French War.**—To meet the expenses of the war the Prince laid such heavy taxes on Aquitaine that he drove the inhabitants to revolt. They appealed for aid to the King of France, as their overlord, and thus began the third stage of the French war. In 1372 the English suffered a severe defeat at sea off Rochelle. On land the French developed new tactics. They avoided battles in the open field, and wore out their enemies' strength by acting only on the defensive. Soon Edward had little left but Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.

§ 144. **Increasing Power of Parliament.**—The expenses of Edward III.'s wars were very heavy, and he was often compelled to ask Parliament for money. Parliament took the opportunity of bargaining for privileges in return, and in this way secured the passing of a **Treason Act**, which, by defining the offence of treason, did much to ensure the safety of the barons. Parliament also strengthened its control over indirect taxation. Finally the **Good Parliament**, which was summoned to reform abuses in the government, established the principle that the king's ministers were responsible to Parliament by impeaching some of them before the House of Lords.

§ 145. **Anti-Papal Legislation.**—Some famous ecclesiastical statutes were also passed in this reign. Early in the fourteenth century the Papacy had moved from Rome to Avignon, which was in French territory, and during the captivity, as men called it, of the Popes at Avignon they were all Frenchmen. On this account many English people believed that the Popes were entirely under the influence of the French king. They consequently viewed the actions of the Pope with suspicion, and were eager to limit his power in England. They particularly disliked his practice of giving English benefices to foreigners. The power to do this was accordingly taken from him by the **Statute of Provisors** in 1351; and, in 1353, by the even more famous **Statute of Praemunire**, men were forbidden to carry appeals to the Pope.

§ 146. **The Close of the Reign.**—Edward III. died in 1377. His reign is in many respects notable. It saw the birth of Geoffrey Chaucer, “the father of English poetry,” who gave to the world, in the Prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*, a vivid picture of English social life in his time. It was also a reign of great military glory. But before it closed Scotland had recovered her independence, and the great territory won in France had nearly all been lost. The taxation necessitated by the war had moreover been intolerably heavy; and the terrible plague, known as the **Black Death**, which had swept over England in 1348 had reduced the population by one third or one half.

§ 147. **Signs of Coming Trouble.**—A rise in wages followed the decrease in the number of labourers caused by the Black Death, and when the landlords tried to keep wages down to their old level by the **Statute of Labourers** there were ominous murmurs of social discontent. There were hints, too, of coming trouble in the growing unpopu-

larity of the Church. John Wiclif, an Oxford scholar, who headed the party of reform, and his followers, the **Lollards**, as they were called, were attacking not only the wealth and worldliness of the clergy, but even some of the doctrines of the Church. Finally, Edward's policy—a policy first begun by Henry III.—of marrying his younger sons to great heiresses had introduced the feuds and rivalries of the barons into the royal house and into the political life of England.

Richard II., 1377-1399.

§ 148. **Accession of Richard II.**—The Black Prince had died in 1376, and Edward III. was succeeded by his grandson, Richard. The new king was only a boy, and during his minority the government of the country was entrusted by Parliament to a council, from which the king's uncles were carefully excluded. The council was nevertheless greatly influenced by his eldest surviving uncle, John of Gaunt. Its first care was to raise money for the war in France. To this end it imposed upon the nation a new tax, known as a **Poll-tax**. The tax was so called because the whole population of the country above the age of fifteen had to pay a certain amount a *head*, the amount varying with the social position of the payer. It was greatly resented, and its second imposition—a shilling a head charged alike on both rich and poor—was followed by an insurrection.

§ 149. **Causes of the Peasants' Rising.**—The rebellion, which covered the greater part of England, had apparently been long and carefully prepared. The peasants rose, not only against the Poll-tax, but also against the government of John of Gaunt. They were impatient of the continuance of the long and unsuccessful war, and above all they

felt their social burdens, which had become very heavy since the Black Death, to be unendurable. Instead of giving labour-services to their lords in return for their land, they wished to become free labourers working for wages and paying a money rent

§ 150. **The Peasants' Rising.**—The discontent of the peasants had been increased by the preaching of the Lollards, and of revolutionists like John Ball, whose couplet—

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ? ”

became the motto of the rebels. The revolt began with several murders—including that of the Archbishop of Canterbury—and a panic seized the landowners. The young king, however, showed plenty of courage, and insisted on facing the rebels of Kent in person at Smithfield. During Richard's parley with them at Walworth, the Mayor of London, struck Wat Tyler, the leader of the insurgents, dead, and the king and his party were for a moment in great peril. But Richard rode up to the rebels, crying “ I will be your leader,” and his promptitude saved his friends.

§ 151. **Result of the Rising.**—Richard, by promising to redress the peasants' grievances, induced them to return home. But his promises were not kept, for Parliament, which was controlled by the landowners, cancelled his concessions. Little by little, however, the villeins gained their freedom. The ruling classes had been frightened, and the Peasants' Rising proved in the end to be the death-blow of villeinage. It also drove the hated John of Gaunt out of England for a time.

§ 152. **The Lords Appellant.**—The evil effects of Edward III.'s family policy soon became apparent. Richard's immediate supporters were for the most part

young men of worthless character, and his most competent minister, Suffolk, did not command the confidence of the country. As a result, a group of nobles, of whom the chief were **Thomas Duke of Gloucester**, the king's uncle; **Henry of Bolingbroke**, son to **John of Gaunt**; and the **Earls of Arundel**, **Warwick**, and **Nottingham**, intrigued to get the government into their hands. When peaceful methods failed they had recourse to arms, defeated Richard's friends, and, gathering together a parliament of their own supporters, "appealed" or accused of treason a number of Richard's partisans. Hence they are known as the **Lords Appellant**; and their parliament, because it condemned Richard's friends and executed all of them on whom it could lay hands, is known as the **Merciless Parliament**.

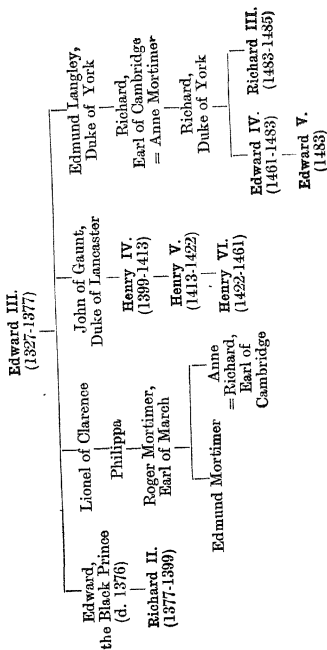
§ 153. **Richard's Personal Rule.**—In 1389 Richard told his Council that he was of age and could manage his own affairs, and having thanked Gloucester and his friends for their services dismissed them. For seven years he governed well, but he had never forgiven the execution of his friends by the Lords Appellant, and in 1397 he began to take his revenge. The Duke of Gloucester was seized and sent to Calais, where he died; Arundel was executed and Warwick banished. Bolingbroke and Nottingham, however, had in the meantime joined Richard's party. The first was created Duke of Hereford, and the second Duke of Norfolk. But shortly afterwards Richard took advantage of a quarrel between them to banish both. Previous to this, in 1396, he had made peace with France and married as his second wife the French king's daughter.

§ 154. **Richard's Attempt to make himself Absolute.**—In the meantime Richard had forced Parliament to grant him the custom dues called **Tunnage** and **Poundage** for life,

and to place its powers in the hands of a permanent committee composed of devoted supporters of the king. It seemed as if he had made himself both absolute and secure, but as a matter of fact he was preparing the way for his own downfall. When John of Gaunt died in 1399, Richard seized his estates, and thus gave the heir, **Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford**, an excuse for returning to England to claim his inheritance. The king's absence in Ireland, whither he had gone to punish the Irish tribes for the murder of his heir and deputy, the Earl of March, gave Bolingbroke his opportunity.

§ 155. **The Downfall of Richard.**—Bolingbroke at once landed at Ravenspur in Holderness, giving out that he had come to claim his family estates. Richard's friends at first believed him, and a contrary wind kept the king himself in Ireland. When he returned, it was to find his cause lost, and no course open to him but to resign his crown. A few months later he died in Pontefract Castle, in what manner is not known. His true character is a mystery. It is still uncertain whether his nature was tyrannical and his few years of good rule merely a cover for dark designs, or whether the selfish intrigues and conspiracies of his nearest relatives had perverted a character originally not unworthy of a descendant of Edward I.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK



CHAPTER IX.

Lancastrian Constitutionalism and Foreign Policy, 1399-1450.

(a) Henry IV., born 1367 ; married (i) Mary Bohun, co-heiress of the Earl of Hereford, 1380, (ii) Joan, daughter of Charles II., King of Navarre, 1403 ; died 1413.

(b) Henry V., born 1388 ; married Katharine, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, 1420 ; died 1422.

(c) Henry VI., born 1421 ; married Margaret of Anjou 1445 ; killed in the Tower 1471.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Scotland. |
|--|-----------------|
| Charles VI. (1380) Charles VII. (1422-1461) | James I. (1406) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--|--|
| 1399. Accession of Henry IV. | 1414. Lollard Rising. |
| 1400. Rising of the Earls. | 1415. Battle of Agincourt. |
| 1400. Rebellion of Owen Glendower. | 1417-19. Conquest of Normandy. |
| 1401. Statute <i>De Heretico Comburendo</i> . | 1420. Treaty of Troyes. |
| 1403. Battle of Shrewsbury. | 1422. Accession of Henry VI. |
| 1405. Battle of Shipton Moor. | 1428. Siege of Orleans. |
| 1408. Battle of Bramham Moor. | 1429. Relief of Orleans by Joan Darc. |
| 1413. Death of Henry IV. and Accession of Henry V. | 1450. Battle of Formigny and Capture of Cherbourg. |

Henry IV., 1399-1413.

§ 156. **Uncertainty of Henry's Title to the Crown.**—After the resignation of Richard Parliament recognised Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford and Lancaster, as king. He was not by hereditary right the next heir to the throne. Edmund, Earl of March, as the descendant of a son of Edward III. elder to Henry's father, John of Gaunt, had a better claim. But Edmund was still a boy, and in accepting Henry of Lancaster Parliament made a wise choice.

§ 157. **Growth of the Power of Parliament.**—The existence of a rival with a good claim to the throne put Henry to a great extent into the hands of Parliament. He was dependent on it for his crown and even more dependent on it for money than were the kings who had preceded him. As a result, Parliament obtained great powers during this reign. It supervised the king's expenditure, and secured some control over his choice of ministers. But the members of Parliament were not the only people whom Henry had to conciliate. He found it necessary also to strengthen his position by winning the support of the Church. To secure this, he passed a famous statute known as *De Heretico Comburendo*, by which the bishops were given power to hand over anyone whom they convicted of heresy, and who would not recant, to the civil authorities to be burnt.

§ 158. **The Power of the Nobles.**—Still more than the support of the Church and Parliament Henry needed the support of the nobles, who were then very few and very powerful. They had added to their forces by binding their poorer neighbours to their service. As in the old days of

feudalism, men too weak to protect themselves were glad to seek the protection of a great noble. They became his retainers, wore his livery, and fought for him when required. He, in return, undertook to maintain their quarrels and to protect them against other nobles. By means of their numerous retainers, the more powerful nobles were able to overawe the judges in the local courts and the electors in the boroughs, and to get any verdict they pleased returned in the courts, and anyone they wished elected to Parliament.

§ 159. **Bribery of the Nobles.**—To win their support Henry bribed the nobles with gifts from some of his crown lands—gifts which, straitened as he was for money, he could ill afford. His reign was, moreover, disturbed by numerous rebellions, all of which were costly, and some difficult, to put down; and he was also harassed by attacks from Scotland and France.

§ 160. **The Rebellions of the Reign.**—One of the chief rebellions of this reign was that of a Welshman, **Owen Glendower**. It was not finally suppressed until Henry's life was nearly over. A still more formidable rebellion was the work of the **Earl of Northumberland** and his son **Harry Percy**, nicknamed **Hotspur**. Only the year before it broke out the Percies had loyally repulsed an inroad of the Scots. But in 1403 they had several causes of complaint against Henry. He had delayed to refund their expenses in defending the frontier, and had claimed their Scottish prisoners for ransom. He had also refused to ransom **Edmund Mortimer**—brother of **Hotspur's** wife and uncle to the **Earl of March**—who had fallen into **Glendower's** hands. **Mortimer** married **Glendower's** daughter, and with his Welsh brother-in-law joined the Percies in their conspiracy against the king.

§ 161. **The Battle of Shrewsbury.**—Henry, however, was able to fall upon Hotspur before he could join hands with Glendower and his followers and to crush him at Shrewsbury by sheer force of numbers. Hotspur fell upon the field. Northumberland was pardoned, but still conspired against the Crown. Two years later a rebellion, headed by Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, broke out in the north. It was put down by the Earl of Westmoreland, who secured the persons of the leaders by treachery. After the surrender, Henry had the Archbishop executed as a traitor. This act was considered a sacrilege, and it injured both Henry's popularity and his reputation. In 1408 the king won a final victory over Northumberland, who was slain on **Bramham Moor**.

§ 162. **The Peace of Henry's Last Years.**—A fair measure of peace was allotted to Henry's closing years. He had crushed all the rebellions of his reign, and circumstances had freed him from foreign dangers. The Scottish difficulties ceased when James, son of Robert III. of Scotland, and heir to the Scottish throne, while on his way to France for education, fell into Henry's hands and was retained as a hostage. The French troubles came to an end when the insanity of Charles VI. made him incapable of governing, and a bitter contest for power between his relatives, the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, led to a civil war in France.

§ 163. **Death of Henry.**—Henry's health had given way under the strain of constant anxiety, and he had no joy in his success. In 1413 he died. The throne which he had obtained by treachery and violence, and preserved by dissipating its powers to secure support, was to prove a fatal legacy to his house. The crown had been reached by "indirect, crook'd ways,"¹ and Henry IV.

¹ Shakespeare, *Henry IV.*

was not the only Lancastrian who found it troublesome to wear.

Henry V., 1413-1422.

§ 164. **Rebellions of the Reign.**—Henry V. succeeded to a securely established throne, and therefore to a stronger position than his father. But his first years were not altogether peaceful. Wiclif's followers, the Lollards, had long been a source of anxiety, even more for their political than for their religious views, and in 1414 they made an attempt at a rebellion. It failed, and four years later their leader, Sir John Oldcastle, was secured and put to death. With his execution the political influence of the Lollards came to an end. In 1415 Henry had to put down a conspiracy in favour of the Earl of March. After that there were no more plots, and he felt free to turn his attention to foreign affairs.

§ 165. **Henry's Claim to the Throne of France.**—He had already determined to revive Edward III.'s claim to the crown of France, and it was a favourable moment for an invasion. The contest between the Orleanists and the Burgundians had become so bitter that there was no fear of a united resistance on the part of the French. Henry began by taking Harfleur. He then marched by a circuitous route to Calais; and at Agincourt, near Crécy, was intercepted by a French army several times larger than his own.

§ 166. **The Battle of Agincourt.**—The English army, as usual, consisted mainly of archers. Henry placed his troops in a position protected on both sides by woods and villages, and in front by a ploughed field which rain had turned into a sea of mud. The body of French cavalry which opened the battle travelled with difficulty over the soft ground, and was easily dispersed by the English arrows.

The main body of the French army consisted of dismounted knights in such heavy armour that they could not easily move under ordinary circumstances. In the mud they were soon quite helpless. King Henry then ordered a charge. His archers, unhampered by armour, and moving with comparative ease over the heavy ground, fell upon the French knights and completed the victory. The English killed 10,000 of the enemy, more than the number they themselves had brought into the field, while their own losses were very small.

§ 167. **Henry's Last Campaigns.**—Henry, aided by the Duke of Burgundy, continued his victorious career. The allies conquered the whole of **Normandy**. Shortly afterwards the duke was murdered by the Orleanists. The Dauphin—the heir to the French throne—having been concerned in this murder, the Burgundians determined that he should not succeed his father. It was, therefore, arranged, by the **Treaty of Troyes**, that Henry should be Regent of France during Charles VI.'s life, and king after his death, and that he should marry Katharine, the daughter of the French king.

§ 168. **Death of Henry V.**—Henry returned to England with his wife in 1421. But he was speedily recalled to France to avenge his brother, the Duke of Clarence, who had been defeated and slain at **Beaugé**. In the course of this campaign Henry's health failed, and he died rather suddenly at Vincennes, near Paris. His wars had won him great glory, but they conferred no permanent benefit upon England, and they brought many troubles in their train.

Henry VI., 1422-1461.

§ 169. **Minority of Henry VI.**—As his son was a minor, the late king had appointed the elder of his two brothers,

the Duke of Bedford, regent in France, and the other, the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of England. Though his duties in France kept Bedford very busy, he was also compelled to watch over his brother's government in England. The Council had divided into two parties, one led by the Protector, Gloucester, and the other by Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester; and Bedford had to keep the peace between them.

§ 170. Disunion of France.—Charles VI. of France died shortly after Henry V. His son was immediately recognised as king south of the Loire, and Henry VI. was accepted in the north of France. Bedford did all he could to strengthen the English position. He drew his alliance with Burgundy closer by marrying the Duke's sister, and he tried to protect England from attack in the rear by releasing James of Scotland from his long imprisonment, on condition that he should keep peace between Scotland and England. About the same time the English position in France was improved by the two victories of Crevant and Verneuil.

§ 171. Siege of Orleans and Joan Darc.—The English and their Burgundian allies then sat down before Orleans, and began the memorable siege which was to prove the turning point of the war. In the hour of her deepest misery help unexpectedly came to France in the person of Joan Darc, a young peasant girl from Lorraine. She had brooded over the sufferings of her country until she came to believe that heavenly visions called her to deliver it. So great was her faith in these visions that she made her way to Charles VII.'s court, and gained his leave to put herself at the head of his army.

§ 172. Success and Death of Joan Darc.—In three months she had relieved Orleans and led Charles to his coronation

at Rheims. She then felt that her work was done and wished to return home. Unfortunately, she was persuaded to remain. In less than two years' time she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who handed her over to the English. The English condemned her to death as a witch; the king of France made no effort to save her, and she was burnt at Rouen in 1431. But before she died she had restored her countrymen's confidence in their power to defeat the English.

§ 173. Disunion of England.—In 1435 Burgundy went over to Charles VII.'s side. With Bedford's death, which soon followed this blow, the last hope of English success in France vanished, for there was no longer anyone to keep the peace between Beaufort and Gloucester. Gloucester's party wished to continue the war, Beaufort's party clamoured for peace. Sometimes one and sometimes the other was the more powerful. When the king came of age he supported the peace party, and Beaufort's kinsman, the Earl of Suffolk, made a truce with France. One of its conditions was that Henry should marry Margaret of Anjou, niece of Charles VII. To win the Duke of Anjou's consent to the match Suffolk gave him Maine and Anjou.

§ 174. Loss of Normandy.—Suffolk's cession of territory made him very unpopular. He was still more disliked three years later when the Duke of Gloucester was arrested and put in prison, where he shortly afterwards died. Suffolk was even suspected of having brought about his death. In a few weeks' time Beaufort also died, and Suffolk became head of the peace party. Finally, the loss of almost the whole of Normandy in the course of the next three years still further increased the hatred which the people felt for him.

CHAPTER X.

The Wars of the Roses, 1450-1485.

- (a) Henry VI., see p. 76.
 (b) Edward IV., born 1441; married Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Sir John Grey, 1464; died 1483.
 (c) Edward V., born 1470; probably murdered in the Tower 1483.
 (d) Richard III., *Crookback*, born 1452; married Anne Neville, younger daughter of the King-maker, 1474; killed in the battle of Bosworth 1485.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Spain. | Scotland. |
|---|--|--|
| Charles VII. (1422) Louis XI. (1461) | Ferdinand (1474-1516) and Isabella (1479-1504) | James II. (1437) James III. (1460-1488) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1450. Cade's Rising. 1451-3. Loss of Guienne. 1455. Battle of St. Albans (First). 1459. Battle of Bloreheath. 1460. Battle of Northampton. 1460. Battle of Wakefield. 1461. Battle of Mortimer's Cross. 1461. Battle of St. Albans (Second). 1461. Edward IV. becomes king. | 1461. Battle of Towton. 1469. Battle of Edgecote. 1470. Henry VI. restored. 1471. Battle of Barnet. 1471. Battle of Tewkesbury. 1471. Death of Henry and Re- storation of Edward. 1483. Accession of Edward V. 1483. Accession of Richard III. 1485. Battle of Bosworth and Death of Richard. |
|--|---|

§ 175. **Outbreak of the Wars of the Roses.**—Even before the final loss of Normandy the impeachment of Suffolk had been attempted. He was accused of being both incompetent and treacherous. The king tried to save his life by banishing him, but while he was crossing the Channel his enemies caught and beheaded him. Suffolk's successor was Somerset—one of the Beauforts—but he proved equally unpopular, and even less capable than Suffolk, and it was generally felt that the fittest adviser for the king was **Richard, Duke of York**. His ability was unquestioned, and, as Edmund of March was dead and Henry childless, he was next heir to the throne. So strong was the feeling in his favour that when a popular rising occurred in Kent, the leader, **Jack Cade**, professed to be acting on York's behalf. This rebellion demonstrated the weakness of the government—for Cade reached London and murdered two of the ministers before his forces were dispersed—and made Henry indisposed to trust York. Nevertheless, when the final loss of Guienne ruined Somerset, and the king became insane, York was able to get Somerset arrested, and to assume the position of Protector of the Realm. But his hopes of the succession were destroyed by the birth of a son to Henry. In eighteen months Henry recovered, and dismissing York, recalled Somerset. York thereupon took up arms.

§ 176. **Character of the Struggle**—York, in the first instance, only appealed to arms in the interest of good government, as de Montfort and others had done before him. But the war differed from other civil wars which had preceded it. The Baronage was now made up of a few great houses, whose forces consisted of retainers more immediately devoted to their chiefs than the feudal tenants had been. These great houses ranged themselves

on different sides according to their several interests, and the war became a blood feud between them, in which both contestants fought to the death.

§ 177. York and Lancaster.—In such a war there could be no half measures, and when once blood had been shed it was inevitable that York should claim the throne in right of his birth. The Lancastrian kings had no claim but that of popular election, and as soon as they failed to provide good government it was remembered that Henry IV. was a usurper. Though they had the support of Parliament, Parliament was less powerful than the Baronial houses backed by their retainers, and was not yet in a position to take up the government of the country. York's chief supporters were the two Nevilles—his brother-in-law the Earl of Salisbury, and the latter's son the Earl of Warwick—and he was strongest in the manufacturing districts of the south and east. The chief supporters of the Lancastrian house were the barons of the north and west.

§ 178. First Stage of the War.—The first fighting took place at St. Albans, where the Yorkists won a victory and Somerset was killed. Salisbury, moreover, by a victory at Bloreheath, in Shropshire, defeated an attempt to cut him off from Warwick and York. The queen, however, acted with energy, and when the two main armies confronted each other at Ludford in the Severn basin, the Yorkists were so heavily outnumbered that their forces disbanded, and York, Warwick, and Salisbury left England. But next year the Earls landed in Kent and surprised London, where they found many supporters, and Warwick, marching north, defeated a Lancastrian force at Northampton and took Henry prisoner.

§ 179. Second Stage of the War.—At this point York claimed the crown and it was arranged that he should be

Regent of the kingdom during Henry's life, and succeed him after his death. But Queen Margaret would not allow her son to be disinherited. She gathered an army in the north and defeated the Yorkists at Wakefield. York was killed and Salisbury was captured and executed.

§ 180. **Victory of Edward of York.**—The queen then marched south, defeated Warwick at St. Albans and tried to enter London, but the Londoners would not admit her unruly northern troops. In the meantime York's son Edward, Earl of March, had taken his father's place as head of the Yorkist party. At the moment he was fighting in the west, but an opportune victory enabled him to relieve London. In March 1461 Edward was formally recognised as king. But he was not secure until the queen's army, which was now retreating northwards, was defeated. Edward hastened in pursuit, and at Towton, in Yorkshire, almost annihilated the great army of the Lancastrians. He then returned to London to be crowned. Margaret, however, did not yet despair. But after her forces had been again defeated both at Hedgeley Moor and at Hexham, she fled to France.

§ 181. **Quarrel between Edward and Warwick.**—Edward was just beginning to feel safe when a quarrel broke out between him and Warwick. The earl wished the king to marry a French princess, and to make an alliance with France. Edward, after allowing him to begin negotiations, suddenly announced that he was married already to an Englishwoman of the Lancastrian party. He then exasperated the earl still further by raising the Woodvilles, his wife's relations, to power in order that their influence might balance that of the Nevilles, Warwick's family; and he refused to allow the engagement of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to Warwick's daughter. Finally he

made an alliance with Burgundy instead of with France, and married his sister Margaret to its duke.

§ 182. "The King-Maker."—Warwick had helped to put Edward on the throne. He now determined to depose him with the aid of the Duke of Clarence. In 1469 Edward's forces were defeated at Edgecote. But next year they were more successful. Warwick and Clarence both fled to France, where King Louis XI. succeeded in reconciling Warwick and Queen Margaret. In September, 1470, Warwick landed in England, expelled Edward in less than a month, and put Henry VI. on the throne once more.

§ 183. Death of Henry VI.—But early in the following year Edward landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, outmanœuvred Warwick, and marched to London. On his way he was joined by his brother Clarence, who had not liked the Lancastrian restoration. Together they defeated and slew Warwick at Barnet on April 14. On the same day Queen Margaret landed in the south-west and marched northwards to join forces with the Lancastrians of the west. Edward intercepted her at Tewkesbury and won a decisive victory. Margaret's son was killed, and within a month the male line of the first family of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was extinguished by the murder of the saintly, but weak-minded, Henry VI.

§ 184. The Reign of Edward IV.: (a) His Foreign Policy.—No sooner was Edward secure than he turned his attention to foreign politics. He renewed Edward III.'s claim to the throne of France, and his own Burgundian alliance. In 1475 he landed at Calais and marched to Paris. But the Duke of Burgundy did not fulfil his promise of support, and after a short campaign Edward came to terms with Louis XI. By the Treaty of

Pecquigny he agreed to abandon his claim in return for a sum of money, an annual pension, and the betrothal of the Dauphin to his daughter Elizabeth.

§ 185. (b) **His Home Policy.**—In his home policy Edward's aim was to strengthen the middle classes at the expense of the nobles, and to develop commerce. He encouraged William Caxton, who, in 1477, introduced the art of printing into England; and he gave the country a firm and orderly administration. But he did not renew the Lancastrian experiment of constitutional government. He summoned Parliament only twice in twelve years. When he wanted money in addition to his ordinary revenue and life-grants, he exacted so-called **Benevolences**—in reality forced loans disguised by the name of free-will offerings.

§ 186. **Death of Edward IV.**—Before the close of his reign Edward put his brother Clarence to death on a charge of treason. Clarence suffered death in the Tower. Tradition says that he was drowned in a butt of malmsey wine. In 1483 Edward himself died, prematurely worn out by riotous living. He had been a selfish and self-indulgent man, but he had a charm of manner which hid many faults. He was, moreover, a skilful ruler and a good soldier. He was wont to boast that he had never lost a battle in which he was personally engaged.

§ 187. **Edward V.**—Edward IV. was no sooner dead than the Woodvilles and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, began to struggle for the guardianship of the young king. Gloucester was made Protector by the Council. He was at that time personally popular, and the favour with which he was regarded contributed to his success. His next step was to remove all possible rivals from his path. He beheaded the King's uncle and half-brother. He then

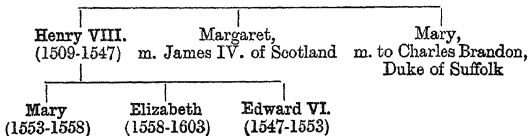
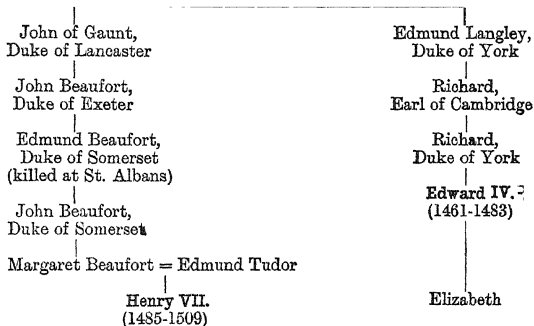
caused it to be generally rumoured that Edward IV.'s children were illegitimate.

§ 188. The Reign of Richard III., 1483-1485.—Thereupon the crown was offered to Richard, who, after pretending to hesitate, accepted it. Richard, however, had not been long on the throne before his popularity was destroyed by rumours that he had had his two young nephews, Edward V. and Richard, Duke of York, put to death in the Tower. Two serious rebellions followed. They both failed, but they showed the king the danger of his position, and he vainly tried to recover some of his lost popularity by passing useful statutes against Benevolences, Maintenance, and Livery.

§ 189. Battle of Bosworth and Death of Richard.—At this juncture the Yorkist and Lancastrian parties combined against Richard, and it was arranged that Henry, Earl of Richmond, head of the Lancastrian party, should marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. In August 1485 Henry landed at Milford Haven, and on his march through Wales gathered many Welshmen round his banner. He encountered Richard at Bosworth, near Leicester, where the treachery of the Stanleys and of other members of the King's party gave him the victory. Richard fought and died bravely on the field. Able and courageous as he undoubtedly was, he had won for himself, in the course of his short reign, a name hardly less infamous than that of John.

DESCENT OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF TUDOR.

Edward III.



BOOK V.

The Tudor Period, 1485-1603.

Introduction.

§ 190. **The Tudor Dictatorship.**—The rule of the Tudors is known as the Tudor Dictatorship—dictator being the name given in ancient Rome to one who was entrusted with exceptional powers for a special end. The Tudors were allowed by the nation to wield a power which was practically absolute in order that they might give England a strong and efficient government, capable of maintaining order at home and peace abroad. The weak government of the Lancastrians had been due in part to their uncertain title to the throne, and in part to their poverty. The Tudors set themselves to remedy both these causes of weakness.

§ 191. **The Work of the Tudors.**—Henry VII. left his son an undisputed title, a large sum of money, and power which had no rivalry to fear but that of the Church. Henry VIII., in his turn, took pains to make his successor's title secure; he enriched himself by forced loans and by the spoils of the monasteries; and he freed England from the foreign control which was exercised through and by the Pope. He thus made his power practically absolute. Edward VI. was a minor; and his reign, except that it saw the beginnings of doctrinal or purely religious reform, had little importance. Queen **Mary** undid both her father's

and her brother's work, and brought England once more under the control of the Papacy. It was left to Elizabeth to complete the establishment of a strong and independent monarchy and a national church in England.

§ 192. **Circumstances which made the Growth of a Strong Monarchy Possible.**—The Tudors could not have succeeded had not the circumstances of the time combined to make a strong monarchy both possible and necessary. It was made possible, in the first place, because the king stood almost alone in the realm. The nobles had lost credit, power, and spirit in the Wars of the Roses; the clergy were unpopular and therefore more ready to support than to oppose the Crown; and the Commons were weary of warfare, and ready to support any king strong enough to give them peace, order, and opportunities of becoming wealthy. A strong monarchy was made possible, in the second place, by the invention of gunpowder. Feudal castles could not stand against cannon, and prolonged resistance on the part of the nobles became impossible when the king possessed the only train of artillery in the country.

§ 193. **Circumstances which made a Strong Monarchy Necessary.**—At the same time there was urgent need for a strong government in England. The discovery of a New World and the growth of the cloth trade offered an infinite prospect of commercial development. But without peace and order commerce can neither grow nor flourish. The constitutional rule of the Lancastrians had failed to maintain either peace or order, and a powerful monarchy had therefore to be tried instead. The condition of Europe was also making the growth of such a monarchy necessary. A strong sovereignty had been built up in both France and Spain in the latter half of the fifteenth

century, and England would probably have become the prey of her stronger neighbours had not the Tudors created a similar monarchy in England.

§ 194. Unpopularity of the Clergy.—The sixteenth century is famous for the great religious movement which is known as the Reformation. Though it began with apparent suddenness, the way had long been prepared for it. Even in the thirteenth century, when the Popes were at the height of their power, the English objected to pay them the large sums of money they exacted (cp. p. 52). About the same time the growing wealth of the clergy in England began to make them unpopular. And in the fourteenth century Wiclif and his followers, the Lollards, made open attacks on the wealth and wordliness of the clergy. Many people also found fault with the lives of the monks, and still more with those of the begging friars, who had deteriorated considerably since the institution of their orders in the thirteenth century.

§ 195. The Need of Reform.—In the fifteenth century the English people were too full of their political grievances to attempt the reform of the Church. And the Lancastrian kings, needing its support, allowed the statutes of **Provisors** and **Praemunire** to become a dead letter. But the Pope and clergy did not regain their moral influence. There was still the same objection to the payment of large sums of money to Rome, the same criticism of Papal methods and policy, the same disapproval of the worldliness and wealth of the English clergy. The lives of the clergy were indeed far from exemplary. It was a common thing for a bishop to hold several sees, or a clergyman several livings, without residing in any of them.

§ 196. The Renaissance: The New Learning.—About the same time a revival of learning was taking place,

which combined with the existing dissatisfaction to bring about the Reformation. This revival was helped by the fact that after the storming of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 many scholars from the Eastern Capital took refuge in the West, bringing with them the books of ancient Greece. About the same time printing was invented, and by means of this art the newly won knowledge was spread far and wide.

§ 197. **The New World.**—The close of the fifteenth century also witnessed some important geographical discoveries. Before that time Europeans knew only their own continent and the coasts of the Mediterranean, little of Asia and Africa, and nothing of America. In 1498 a Portuguese discoverer sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and reached the coast of India. Meanwhile Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor in the service of the Queen of Spain, had tried to reach India by sailing westwards. Though he failed in his object, he discovered the islands still known as the West Indies (1492). This discovery soon led to that of the American continents, North America in 1497 and South America in 1500. The New Learning and the New World combined to produce a change in the intellectual life of Europe so great that it has been given the name of the Renaissance or New Birth.

§ 198. **The Course of the Reformation.**—From the wider outlook of the Renaissance sprang a spirit of independent criticism, which did much to bring about the Reformation. The way having been thus prepared, leaders and occasions alone were wanting. Germany found a leader in Martin Luther, a Saxon friar; England in her king, Henry VIII. Luther found an occasion in a sale of indulgences, Henry VIII. in the question of his divorce. In 1517 Luther made his famous protest against indulgences, and thereby began

a movement for the reform of the abuses in the Church which before long became also a movement for the reform of doctrine.

§ 199. *The Swiss Reformers.*—The work of Luther was continued by the Swiss Reformers. John Calvin, a Frenchman who had settled at Geneva, went even further than Luther in his repudiation of many of the doctrines of the Church of Rome. His only authority was the Bible, and his followers rejected ecclesiastical control of any kind. They also disliked images and pictures in churches, and disapproved of surplices and ceremonies.

§ 200. *The Reformation in England.*—In its origin the Reformation in Germany was purely religious: in England it was as clearly political. Henry VIII. did not wish for any change of doctrine. His enduring motive, apart from his immediate desire for a divorce from Katharine of Aragon, was to be free from all foreign control. The reign of Edward VI. saw some changes in doctrine, but it was not until the reign of Elizabeth, when the Reformers, whom the religious reaction under Mary had driven out of the country, returned from their exile at Geneva, that the Reformation in England came into touch with the Reforming movement on the Continent. When the Reformation began, the Church of Rome comprised nearly the whole population of Western Europe. When it ended, in spite of the fact that the Roman Church had recovered much lost ground by a counter-Reformation, that Church was but one—albeit the chief—of many Christian bodies.

CHAPTER XI.

Henry VII., 1485-1509.

Born 1457 ; married Elizabeth of York 1486 ; died 1509.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| PAPACY. | EMPIRE. | FRANCE. | SPAIN. | SCOTLAND. |
|---|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Alexander VI. (1484) Pius III. (1503) Julius II. (1503) | Maximilian I. (1493) | Charles VIII. (1483) Louis XII. (1498) | Ferdinand and Isabella (1479) | James III. (1460) James IV. (1488) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1487. Simnel's Rebellion. 1487. Court of Star Chamber established. 1491-6. Warbeck's Risings. 1492. Treaty of Estaples. 1495. Poynings' Law. | 1496. Intercursus Magnus. 1501. Marriage of Arthur and Katharine of Aragon. 1503. Marriage of Margaret and James IV. of Scotland. 1506. Intercursus Malus. |
|--|---|

§ 201. Character of Henry VII.—Henry Tudor was well fitted for the task of restoring order in England. He was firm, tactful, clear-sighted, and as industrious as Henry II. But he was also cold, crafty, and “infinitely

suspicious.”¹ Though he won the respect, he neither won, nor cared to win, the love of his people.

§ 202. **Henry's Title to the Throne.**—The Wars of the Roses can hardly be said to have ended with the accession of Henry VII., for his title was open to dispute, and for many years his position was insecure. He was the son of Margaret Beaufort and Edmund Tudor. Margaret Beaufort was a descendant of John of Gaunt, and represented a branch of the Lancastrian line—a branch, however, of doubtful legitimacy so far as the claim to the throne was concerned. Edmund Tudor was a son of Owen Tudor and Katharine of France, widow of Henry V. Thus he could only claim the throne as heir of the Lancastrian kings, who themselves had not reigned by right of birth.

§ 203. **Henry's Marriage with Elizabeth of York.**—Nevertheless he would not base his claims on the fact that he was recognised by Parliament and so lose his independence, nor was he willing to wound the feelings of his subjects by insisting on the right of conquest. He preferred to assert his claim by descent. At the same time he took care to secure his position by fulfilling his promise to marry **Elizabeth of York**, who, if her young brothers were really dead, as was supposed, was the next in succession to the House of York. He also took the precaution of imprisoning the heir in the male line, the Earl of Warwick, the son of Clarence, in the Tower.

§ 204. **Rising of Lambert Simnel.**—The uncertainty of his title gave the king's enemies an opportunity of which they were quick to take advantage. His reign was disturbed by numerous rebellions. One of the most important was the rising of **Lambert Simnel**, the son of an Oxford

¹ Bacon, *Henry VII.*

tradesman. Simnel was induced by some of the leading Yorkists to pretend to be the Earl of Warwick. Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV., was one of the chief instigators of the plot. The king took pains to disprove the impostor's story by producing the true earl from the Tower, and the insurgents were completely defeated in a battle at Stoke. Henry showed his contempt for the insurrection by giving Simnel a post in his kitchen.

§ 205. The Rebellion of Perkin Warbeck.—A more serious rising was that of Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Flemish boatman. He claimed to be Richard of York, the younger of the murdered princes. Margaret of Burgundy having had him carefully trained to play the part, Warbeck was a source of anxiety for some years. He was supported in turn by France, Flanders, and Scotland, the King of Scotland giving him his cousin in marriage and invading England on his behalf. After an adventurous career Warbeck at last surrendered and was imprisoned in the Tower. Two years later he and his fellow-prisoner, the Earl of Warwick, plotted to escape, and Henry seized the opportunity of putting both to death.

§ 206. Home Policy of Henry VII.—Henry's aim was to build up a strong and independent monarchy in England. When he came to the throne he had the support of the Church, and his care for trade soon gained that of the middle classes. But his poverty was a source of weakness, and the nobles, though crushed by their misfortunes in the Wars of the Roses, were not yet harmless. Their liveried retainers were still a menace to order, and there was no court in the realm strong enough to enforce the Statute of Liveries or to punish breaches of the peace by the retainers of great nobles.

§ 207. **The Court of the Star Chamber.**—Henry therefore with the sanction of Parliament constituted in 1487 the famous **Court of the Star Chamber**. By keeping the appointment of its members in his own hands he made it independent of the nobles and dependent on the Crown. Thus it could easily be turned into an instrument of royal tyranny, as it was by the Stuarts; but when first established it served the very useful purpose of putting an end to livery and maintenance. Henry further weakened the old nobility by creating a new nobility, bound both by gratitude and interest to support him.

§ 208. **Exactions of Henry VII.**—Henry revived the practice of raising **Benevolences**. His Chancellor, Archbishop Morton, had an ingenious way of getting money out of unwilling subjects, which received the name of **Morton's Fork**. If they lived well, he said that they were obviously rich and could afford to subscribe. If they seemed poor, he said that they must be saving and could pay out of their hoards. The Star Chamber exacted heavy fines from nobles who kept bodies of retainers in defiance of the Statute of Liveries; and two lawyers, **Empson** and **Dudley**, whom Henry employed to raise money for him, secured large sums by reviving ancient penalties and other unjust methods. By such means Henry soon obtained wealth, and with it almost absolute power. He summoned Parliament often in the early part of his reign when he wanted money from it, but he ruled without it when he was rich.

§ 209. **Henry VII. and Brittany.**—In the course of his reign Henry was only once drawn into war. **Brittany** having aided him when he was a claimant for the English throne, gratitude compelled him to try to save the Duchy from falling into the hands of France on the death of its

Duke. But before his troops had accomplished anything, the daughter and heiress of the late Duke married the King of France, and Henry, by the Treaty of Estaples, allowed himself to be bought off with a large sum of money.

§ 210. **Henry VII.'s Peace Policy.**—Henry was not rich enough for war, and he had every reason to cultivate the friendship of his neighbours; for their enmity meant support for his rivals and the interruption of his commerce. He therefore put an end to the hostility of Flanders by two commercial treaties¹; he sought the friendship of Spain by marrying his son Arthur to Katharine of Aragon, the daughter of its king; and he secured his northern frontier against inroads, and deprived France of her constant ally, by giving his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland. The latter marriage was the first step towards the union of England and Scotland.

§ 211. **Ireland.**—Ireland was Yorkist in sympathy, and therefore unruly in the early part of Henry's reign. The king was too fully occupied in England to spare it much attention; but later his deputy Poynings succeeded on the whole in keeping the country quiet. During this deputy's rule two enactments of importance were passed: together they are known as **Poynings' Law**. The first declared that all laws then in force in England should be equally in force in Ireland. The second provided that no Parliament should be held or laws passed in Ireland without the previous consent of the English Privy Council. The dependence of the Irish Government upon the English was thus secured.

§ 212. **Death of Henry VII.**—In 1509 the King died. His eldest son Arthur having died some years before, he

¹ The *Intercursus Magnus* 1496, and the *Intercursus Malus* 1506.

left three children only, **Margaret**, Queen of Scotland, **Henry**, and **Mary**.

Henry VII.'s work was complete at his death. He had given England peace and order, and a position of some importance upon the Continent, he had done much to further commerce both by his treaties and by strengthening the fleet, and he left wealth and a secure position to his son. Though his work was not brilliant, he had laid the foundations for the power and fame of his successors, and his reputation when he died, "though great at home, was greater abroad."

CHAPTER XII.

Henry VIII., 1509-1547.

Born 1491; married Katharine of Aragon, widow of his elder brother Arthur, 1509; for his five later marriages see §§ 226, 232; died 1547.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Papacy. | Empire. | France. | Spain. | Scotland. |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Clement VII. (1523-1534) | Maximilian Charles V. (1519-1556) | Louis XII. Francis I. (1515-1547) | Ferdinand Charles I. (Emperor Charles V.) (1516-1556) | James IV. James V. (1513) Mary (1542) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1513. Battles of Guinegate and Flodden Field.</p> <p>1520. Field of the Cloth of Gold.</p> <p>1529-1536. Reformation Parliament.</p> <p>1533. (First) Statute of Appeals.</p> | <p>1536. Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.</p> <p>1536. The Pilgrimage of Grace.</p> <p>1539. Dissolution of the Larger Monasteries.</p> <p>1542. Battle of Solway Moss.</p> |
|--|---|

§ 213. **Accession of Henry VIII.**—Henry's claim to the throne was undisputed. Through his father he represented the House of Lancaster; through his mother he was heir to the House of York. He was young, rich, and handsome. He was already liked, and he meant to be still more popular. To please his people he at once had Empson and Dudley, the two lawyers who had extorted

money for Henry VII., put to death on a false charge of treason. It was a selfish and ungrateful act, for evil as had been many of their practices, it was to their zealous service of the late king that Henry himself owed much of his wealth. In the first year of his reign Henry married **Katharine of Aragon**, his brother's widow.

§ 214. **War with France.**—Henry VIII. was not content with the peace policy of his father. He wished to win glory by the conquest of France. A chance came when in 1511 the Pope asked the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of England to help him to drive the French out of Italy. Henry sent an expedition to attack France from the south, but it failed (1512). He then invaded the north of France in person, where he won the **Battle of Guinegate** (1513)—known, because of the rapid flight of the French, as the **Battle of Spurs**.

§ 215. **War with Scotland.**—In the meantime war with France had, as usual, led to war with Scotland. The Scots allied themselves with the French and invaded England. On **Flodden Field**, in Northumberland, between the **Till** and the **Tweed**, they were defeated, and their king was killed. But, in spite of his victories, Henry was beginning to realise that he was not strong enough to conquer France; and his allies were deserting him. He therefore allowed King Louis to buy him off with a large sum of money, and to marry his sister, **Mary Tudor**.

§ 216. **The Balance of Power.**—Having abandoned his warlike policy, Henry aimed at holding the balance between two most powerful continental nations, France and Spain, which were at the moment competing for the various territories of Italy. Whenever either seemed likely to gain an advantage Henry supported the other. This policy was profitable in two ways; the weaker party paid him well for

his support because it was valuable, and the stronger was never strong enough to endanger England.

§ 217. **Henry's Changes of Alliance.**—For the first years of his reign Henry's main ally was Spain. But in 1520 he was on good terms with France as well as with Spain. He held a friendly meeting with the King of France near Calais, where the two kings and their followers displayed such magnificence that the place where they met was afterwards known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Only two years later, however, Henry sent troops to aid the Spaniards against the French. But already Spain was growing too powerful to please him. The Archduke Charles of Austria had become king of Spain in 1516 and Emperor¹ in 1519; and when, in 1525, he defeated and took the King of France prisoner at Pavia, near Milan, Henry definitely went over to the side of France.

§ 218. **The Question of the Divorce.**—Henry and Katharine had had several children; but after seventeen years of marriage only one, a daughter, Mary, remained alive. To the King his lack of a male heir seemed a judgment on his marriage. The law of the Church forbids a man to marry his brother's widow; and Henry VII., to enable his son to marry Katharine, had had to get a special dispensation from the Pope. But in spite of this dispensation Henry VIII.'s conscience became uneasy. He was anxious, moreover, for a successor whose title to the throne should be indisputable, and besides he had fallen in love with and wished to marry Anne Boleyn, one of Queen Katharine's maids of honour. In 1527 he accordingly applied to Pope Clement VII. for a divorce.

§ 219. **Thomas Wolsey.**—Henry counted on the help of his minister, Thomas Wolsey, the son of a trader of Ipswich.

¹ See p. 42.

The King had owed much of his success in the war against France to the skilful preparations of Wolsey, and had rewarded him by making him Chancellor, and by persuading the Pope to make him first a Cardinal and then Papal Legate. Thus the direction of both home and foreign affairs was in his hands. Abroad he sought to maintain peace and if possible to become Pope. At home he wished to raise the King to the highest power in the State, to reform some of the abuses in the Church, and to encourage the New Learning; but, absorbed in his negotiations with foreign powers, he did little more than dissolve a few useless religious houses, and found a school at Ipswich and a college at Oxford.

§ 220. **Wolsey and the Divorce.**—Though the Church of Rome regarded a marriage once made as indissoluble, it was usually possible to discover some flaw in the contract for a divorce in the Middle Ages was not a dissolution of an acknowledged marriage, but a declaration that the marriage had never been valid. In this case, however, there were special difficulties. The Pope did not like to set aside the dispensation of a former Pope, and he had, moreover, fallen in 1527 into the power of the Emperor. The Emperor, who was Queen Katharine's nephew, would not consent to her divorce, and the Pope dared not offend him. At the same time, Clement did not care to give Henry a downright refusal. He therefore sent Cardinal Campeggio to England to form with Wolsey a court for the decision of the question.

§ 221. **Fall of Wolsey.**—The court came to no conclusion, and the case was cited to Rome for further discussion. The King's disappointment was great, and in his rage he turned on his faithful servant Wolsey. The latter was an easy person to attack, for his wealth (he held

three bishoprics, though residing in none), his luxurious life, and his arrogant manner had made him unpopular. He was accused of treason, and died on his way to London to answer the charge.

§ 222. *The Reformation.*—In the hope of getting his divorce without the Pope's consent, Henry then began to reform the English Church. That he met with no serious opposition was partly due to a pretty general feeling that some reform was needed, and partly to his own skilful management of Parliament. Henry had more than one reason for wishing to separate England from Rome. He could not endure a rival authority in his own kingdom, not even the spiritual power of the Pope. Moreover, the Papal control might be a cover for the interference of another power, and in this case it was really the Emperor who stood in Henry's way. But in 1529 it was the evident impossibility of his getting a divorce from Rome which decided Henry to act.

§ 223. *Henry's Fidelity to the Doctrines of Rome.*—The King had no desire for a change in doctrine. When Luther had begun the Reformation in Germany in 1517 by a declaration against Indulgences, Henry had written a treatise in opposition to his views, in return for which the Pope had given him the title of "Defender of the Faith." And while he lived he remained faithful to the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

§ 224. *The Long Parliament of the Reformation.*—Henry had summoned Parliament seldom during the first twenty years of his reign; but for the serious step he now contemplated he thought it well to have, or at least to seem to have, national support. He accordingly summoned a Parliament in 1529 which, as it sat seven years and abolished the power of the Pope over the English Church,

is known as the **Long Parliament of the Reformation**. It began by reforming some of the abuses in the Church. It restricted the immunities of clerics, reduced their fees, as well as the fines which Church courts could exact, and it put a stop to pluralities and non-residence.

§ 225. **The Separation from Rome.**—A series of enactments followed which completely severed the English and Roman Churches. The powers which had belonged to the Pope were for the most part passed to the Crown, and in 1531, and again in 1535, Henry was recognised by the clergy and people as **Supreme Head of the Church**. The chief sources of the Pope's revenue—the hearth-tax of one penny, called Peter's pence, and the annates, or first-fruits paid by those who took up benefices—were stopped. The clergy were threatened with punishment under the Act of **Praemunire** (§ 145) for having recognised Wolsey as Legate, and were too unpopular to offer much resistance.

§ 226. **Henry's Divorce and Remarriage.**—Among other Acts passed at this time was the **Statute of Appeals**, which forbade appeals to Rome in matters concerning wills, marriages, and divorces. The power to decide such cases was vested in the spiritual courts of the realm, under the Archbishop of Canterbury. By virtue of this statute **Thomas Cranmer**, the new archbishop, declared the King's marriage with **Katharine of Aragon** to be no true marriage, and that with **Anne Boleyn**, which had taken place in January 1533, to be legal. A little later Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, was born.

§ 227. **Thomas Cromwell.**—Henry entrusted some of his new power over the Church to an able but unscrupulous man, **Thomas Cromwell**, whom he made his Vicar-General in 1535. Cromwell had been one of Wolsey's servants and, after his master's death, had gradually won Henry's

favour. Though a bad man, he was faithful to the King. His chief aim was to make the royal power absolute, and he cared little what ruin he accomplished or how many innocent lives he sacrificed in the process.

§ 228. **The Dissolution of the Monasteries.**—One of Cromwell's first actions was to institute an enquiry into the state of English monasteries and to lay a report of their condition before Parliament. As a result of this report Parliament passed an Act for dissolving the lesser monasteries. Their property, except a small sum for pensioning inmates, went to the Crown. Probably the state of the monasteries, though unsatisfactory, was not so bad as was reported. Henry and Cromwell wished to abolish them partly because the monks were staunch supporters of the Pope, but chiefly because the King coveted their wealth.

§ 229. **Execution of Sir Thomas More, 1535.**—Though Henry's rule was acceptable to the majority of the nation, the sweeping changes he had introduced did not pass unquestioned, and to those who opposed him Henry showed no mercy. The most notable of these was **Sir Thomas More**. He was an upright, able, and witty man, whose views were far in advance of his time, and he wrote a famous book called *Utopia*, a description of an ideal commonwealth. More was executed under a new Treason Act for denying the King's supremacy over the Church. He had been Henry's friend as well as Chancellor, but neither his friendship nor his faithful service could save him.

§ 230. **The Pilgrimage of Grace.**—In 1536 a great rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace took place in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It was partly caused by changes in agriculture. Landowners had long been giving up corn-

growing and taking to sheep-rearing as more profitable. For this fewer hands were needed, and many of the labourers were thrown out of work in consequence. The outbreak was also a protest against the dissolution of the monasteries, which, as rich landowning communities, had provided work and relief for the poor. The rebels were induced to disperse by a pardon to their leaders, and a promise that a parliament should be held at York to redress their grievances. But the parliament never met, and a further rising in the spring of the next year gave Henry an excuse for revoking his pardon and putting some of the leaders to death.

§ 231. **The Larger Monasteries and the Six Articles.**—In 1539 the larger monasteries were dissolved. Their wealth went to the King, some of it being used for State purposes and some of it being given to Henry's ministers and friends to secure their support. In the same year the **Statute of the Six Articles** was passed, which laid down that the chief dogmas of the Roman Church were to be accepted in England.

§ 232. **Henry's Later Marriages.**—Queen **Katharine** died in 1536, and shortly afterwards **Anne Boleyn** was executed on a charge of infidelity. The King then married **Jane Seymour**; she died a year later, after the birth of her son the future **Edward VI.** In 1540 Henry married **Anne**, daughter of the Protestant Duke of Cleves, but he disliked both her and her religious opinions, and divorced her in seven months. The marriage had been arranged by **Thomas Cromwell**, and he had to suffer for its failure. In 1540 he was executed as a traitor and a heretic. Henry's fifth wife was **Katharine Howard**; she was executed in 1542 on charges of immorality. His sixth wife was a widow, **Katharine Parr**, who survived him.

§ 233. **The Close of the Reign.**—Between 1542 and 1546 Henry was at war with both France and Scotland. The Scots were severely defeated at Solway Moss, and their king, James V., died of grief. Henry also invaded France and took Boulogne. These successes weakened the hands of the French party in Scotland. In 1547 Henry died. During his reign three nobles of royal blood and the Countess of Salisbury were beheaded at different times for alleged conspiracy. In reality they were all put to death because they might on the ground of birth have claimed the crown. In his last year Henry condemned the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, a poet of some fame, to death. He either thought that they had treasonable designs or dreaded their influence. Surrey was beheaded in 1546. His father was only saved by the death of the King on the day appointed for the execution.

§ 234. **Work of Henry.**—Henry had been entirely successful in his aims. At the end of his reign there was no power in England which could rival his own. Parliament was his willing tool. It had given his proclamations the force of law, and it had allowed him to dispose of the crown by will. But he knew that the continuance of his Church policy was dependent on his own life, and that the nation was divided. Some people wished England to return to her allegiance to Rome, some desired a further reform and changes in doctrine. To secure moderation Henry, in his will, appointed members from both parties to form a Council of Regency for his son, who was a minor.

CHAPTER XIII.

Edward VI. and Mary I., 1547-1558.

(a) Edward VI., born 1537 ; died unmarried 1553.

(b) Mary I., born 1516 ; married Philip, King of Naples, afterwards Philip II. of Spain, 1554 ; died 1558.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Papacy. | Empire. | France. | Spain. | Scotland. |
|--------------------|----------------------|---|--|----------------|
| Paul IV. (1555) | Charles V. (1519) | Francis I. (1515) Henry II. (1547) | Charles I. (1516) Philip II. (1556) | Mary (1542) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1547. Somerset made Protector. | 1552. Execution of Somerset. |
| 1547. Battle of Pinkie Cleugh. | 1554. Spanish Marriage. |
| 1549. Fall of Somerset. | 1554. Reconciliation with Rome. |
| 1550. Loss of Boulogne. | 1558. Loss of Calais. |

Edward VI., 1547-1553.

§ 235. The Lord Protector.—In the Council of Regency the reformers got the upper hand, and appointed the king's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Lord Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset. The Protector had a genuine belief in the need for reform in the Church, and a sincere sympathy for the sufferings of the poor. But he was rash and injudicious, and greedy of power and money

By attempting too much at once he caused the failure of all his plans. To force the Scots to marry their young queen to Edward VI., he invaded their country and inflicted a severe defeat on them in the Battle of **Pinkie Cleugh**, near Edinburgh. But the only result was that the exasperated Scots sent Queen Mary to France, and betrothed her to the Dauphin.

§ 236. **Further Reforms.**—In the meantime Somerset was reforming the Church of England in accordance with his own ideas. Henry VIII. had allowed the use of English instead of Latin in a few prayers and in a litany, and had authorised a translation of the Bible into English, but he had severely punished all who opposed the doctrines of the Church of Rome. On the whole his views had been the views of the people. Somerset, regardless of this fact, ordered the removal of all images from the churches, had the frescoes whitewashed, and enforced the use of an English prayer-book by an **Act of Uniformity** passed in 1549. He also confiscated the property of the guilds—associations of merchants and craftsmen which served many useful purposes. Most of the property was given to the courtiers, a small part only being devoted to the support of grammar schools.

§ 237. **Insurrections of the Reign.**—Many people were deeply shocked by these measures ; still more when they saw Somerset pulling down a church in the Strand in order that he might build himself a palace in its place. The English prayer-book was ill received. Its first use caused a rising in the west of England, which was, however, soon put down. But a month later a much more serious revolt took place in Norfolk under the leadership of **Ket**, a wealthy tanner. The grievances of the insurgents were social rather than religious. The misery of the poor at this

time was very great. Labourers were still being thrown out of work by the change from corn-growing to sheep-farming, while at the same time the aged poor had been deprived of support and the poor children of education by the confiscation of the wealth of the guilds, much of which had formerly been devoted to such charitable objects. Ket's rebellion took six weeks to subdue. These risings were only two among many, and the Government had to employ foreign troops to restore order.

§ 238. **Fall of Somerset.**—The failure of his government and the sympathy which Somerset had shown for the insurgents in Ket's rebellion had displeased the nobles. In 1549 the Earl of Warwick succeeded in ousting him from his Protectorship, and took his place with the name of Lord-President of the Council and the title of Duke of Northumberland. Three years later Somerset was executed on a charge of murderous conspiracy. When Northumberland rose to power, England was engaged in a war with France, which ended disastrously shortly afterwards in the loss of Henry VIII.'s conquest, **Boulogne**.

§ 239. **Northumberland and the Reformation.**—A number of Englishmen under the influence of Archbishop Cranmer, and of German refugees from Zürich, Saxony, and the Rhineland, had adopted the views of continental reformers before the close of Edward's reign. As a result the new Book of Common Prayer which was issued in 1552, and enforced by another Act of Uniformity, marked a still further step in a Protestant direction.

§ 240. **Death of Edward VI.**—In 1553 it was clear that the King was dying, and equally clear that his sister and successor Mary would undo all his work. Northumberland accordingly persuaded the King that it was necessary to change the succession in order to prevent reaction in religion ;

and Edward appointed his cousin, **Lady Jane Grey**, as his heir. Lady Jane was a granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister **Mary** and her second husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. She was married to Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and it was principally to secure his own power that Northumberland wished to put her on the throne. But in this case his ambition had overreached itself. When Edward died, Northumberland's supporters failed him; he was taken prisoner and executed as a traitor, and Lady Jane, whom he had used to further his schemes, was thrown into prison after a reign of nine days.

Mary I., 1553-1558.

§ 241. **Mary's Reactionary Policy.**—Mary Tudor, as was expected, at once began to undo her father's and brother's work. She restored the Latin Mass and induced Parliament to repeal all the ecclesiastical statutes of the last reign. So far she had the support of the majority of the nation; but in her desire to bring England back into allegiance to Rome, and her wish to marry **Philip**, the son and heir of her cousin, the Emperor Charles V., she stood almost alone. Even Bishop Gardiner, her Chancellor, who had suffered imprisonment in the reign of Edward VI. for his conservative views, was not wholly in favour of the marriage, and its announcement in England was immediately followed by serious disturbances. Englishmen feared that it would mean dependence on Spain and war with France, the rival of Spain.

§ 242. **Wyatt's Rebellion and the Spanish Marriage.**—The most serious revolt was that of the men of Kent under Sir Thomas Wyatt, a son of the poet of the same name. It was at first alarming; but Mary showed plenty of

courage, the Londoners supported her, and Wyatt was taken prisoner. Together with the leaders of other risings, and with the innocent Lady Jane and her husband, Guildford Dudley, he was sent to the block. The Princess Elizabeth was imprisoned in the Tower, but the party who sought her ruin were unable to prove that she had anything to do with the rebellion. Mary's second Parliament gave its consent to her marriage, which took place in July, 1554. It was not happy. Philip had married Mary to secure the support of England for his continental plans, and he had no love for his wife. The year after his marriage he left the country and only returned once again for a short visit.

§ 243. **The Reconciliation with Rome.**—Immediately after her marriage Mary summoned a third Parliament. It repealed all the laws which had been passed against the Pope since 1529, on condition that he would not insist upon the restoration of the abbey lands to their former owners. Cardinal Pole was sent to England as Papal Legate, and he received the formal submission of the nation. He was the son of the Countess of Salisbury who had been executed in the reign of Henry VIII., and he had only escaped a similar fate by flight.

§ 244. **The Marian Persecution.**—Early in 1555 Parliament revived the anti-Lollard statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V. (See §§ 157, 164.) Armed with these weapons against heresy the Government began a persecution of Protestants. Altogether the victims numbered nearly 300. The most conspicuous was Archbishop Cranmer, to whom England owes much of the beautiful language of her Book of Common Prayer. A strain of weakness ran through a character in other respects noble. When brought face to face with death Cranmer's courage

failed. He tried to save himself by denying his opinions. But he soon realised that he had humbled himself in vain. Mary, who could not forgive him for pronouncing her mother's divorce, had no intention of sparing him. Ashamed of his cowardice, Crammer withdrew his denial, summoned all his courage, and died bravely at last. The persecutions of this reign did much to inspire the nation with a horror of Spain and Roman Catholicism.

§ 245. **Loss of Calais and Mary's Death.**—In the meantime the expected war with France on behalf of Spain had come about. It resulted in the loss of **Calais**, the last possession of England upon the Continent. Queen Mary felt the blow keenly. She was already a broken-hearted woman, bitterly disappointed because she had no child, and deeply hurt by her husband's absence and neglect. Her health was rapidly failing, and she knew that her successor, Elizabeth, would undo all that she had done. Towards the end of the year 1558 she died.

CHAPTER XIV.

Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

Born 1533; died unmarried 1603.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| PAPACY. | FRANCE. | SPAIN. | SCOTLAND. |
|--|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Pius V. (1566) Gregory XIII. (1572) | Henry II. (1547) Francis II. (1559) Charles IX. (1560) Henry III. (1574) Henry IV. (1589) | Philip II. (1556) | Mary (1542) (Deposed 1567) |
| Sixtus V. (1585) | | Philip III. (1598) | James VI. (1567) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1566. Birth of James Stuart, future King of Eng- land. | 1583. Throgmorton Plot. |
| 1568. Flight of Mary Stuart to England. | 1585. Elizabeth sends help to the Netherlands. |
| 1569. Rising of the Northern Earls. | 1587. Execution of Mary Stuart. |
| 1570. Papal Bull of Excom- munication and Deposi- tion. | 1587. Drake destroys part of Armada in Cadiz Har- bour. |
| 1571. Ridolfi Plot. | 1588. The Great Armada. |
| 1579-81. The Jesuits land in England. | 1596. Rebellion in Ireland. |
| | 1601. First General Poor Law. |
| | 1603. Conquest of Ireland. |

§ 246. **Importance of the Reign.**—The reign of Elizabeth is one of the most famous in English history. The Queen and her ministers settled the Church of England on the foundation which still endures, freed England from all danger of foreign interference, completed the conquest of Ireland, and brought the long warfare between England and Scotland to a close. To the Elizabethan age belong some of the greatest works of English literature—**Shakespeare's Plays**, Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, Bacon's *Essays*, and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

§ 247. **Perilous Position of Elizabeth.**—But at the beginning of the reign Elizabeth was threatened by dangers on every side. The Pope, Philip of Spain, **Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland**, and many of Elizabeth's own subjects believed that she had no right to her throne. They maintained that Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, had never been lawfully married to Henry VIII., and that Mary Stuart, granddaughter of Henry VII.'s daughter Margaret, was the true heir to the English crown. As the Queen of Scotland was the wife of the Dauphin and England was already at war with France, this assertion was most alarming. To make matters worse England was poor and divided by religious differences.

§ 248. **Peace with France.**—But Elizabeth was not without hope. She knew that it was not to the interest of the King of Spain, however much he might believe in the justice of Mary Stuart's claim, to let England fall into the power of the King of France. It suited his purpose better that Elizabeth should maintain her independence. He therefore took care that England was not left out of the general peace which was concluded in the year following her accession.

§ 249. **The Religious Difficulties of Elizabeth.**—Having

made peace abroad, Elizabeth's next aim was to secure peace at home. She had three parties to satisfy: the Roman Catholic party, which wished for the restoration of the power of the Pope in England; the moderate reformers, who would be well content with the doctrines embodied in the Anglican Prayer-Book; and the extreme reformers, who were in sympathy with continental Protestantism. The moderate party was by far the largest; Romanists were not very numerous except in the north; and the extreme Protestant party, though soon to become important, was as yet small.

§ 250. **Elizabeth's Attitude to the Question.**—Elizabeth herself was known to dislike the opinions of the extreme reformers, seeing clearly that their independent views were as dangerous to the power of political rulers as to that of ecclesiastical rulers, but on other points she kept her own counsel. It was impossible for her, even if she had wished to do so, to acknowledge the authority of a Pope who had declared her mother's marriage to be invalid and still maintained this position.

§ 251. **The Settlement of the Church of England.**—In the hope of inducing all parties to accept it Elizabeth made her settlement of the Church of England as moderate as possible. While adopting the anti-papal attitude of her father, she dropped the title "Supreme Head of the Church" because it offended some Protestants as well as the Romanists. And though she kept the English Prayer-Book of Edward VI., she modified it in the hope of making it acceptable to both classes of reformers.

§ 252. **Conformity insisted upon.**—The use of the revised Prayer-Book was then enforced by an **Act of Uniformity**, and people were compelled by the same Act to attend church on Sundays and holy-days or to run the

risk of fine and imprisonment. The tenets of the Church of England were set forth in the **Thirty-nine Articles of Religion**. These were based on forty-two articles previously issued by Cranmer. Parliament, however, did not want the clergy to assent to them till 1577. An oath of supremacy and obedience was exacted from office-holders in Church and State. All the English bishops except one refused to take it, and were deprived of their sees. Elizabeth's Church policy was not at first liked by any party, but it gradually gained the acquiescence of the majority of her people.

§ 253. **The Struggle with Mary, Queen of Scots.**—Though peace between France and England had been concluded in 1559, **Mary Stuart** had not given up hope of the English crown; and after she became Queen of France in the same year she was very eager to press her claim. But she was prevented from taking any active step by the outbreak of a rebellion in Scotland. The Scottish reformers rose in revolt and obtained support from England. Elizabeth hated supporting rebellion in any form, but she wanted to keep Mary occupied.

§ 254. **Mary's Return to Scotland.**—In 1560 the King of France died, and in 1561 Mary came back to Scotland. Having made peace with her subjects, she now began to think seriously of laying claim to the English throne. She counted on the support of the French, but a religious war broke out in France in the following year and made it impossible for them to aid her. For reasons similar to those which had induced her to support the Scottish rebels Elizabeth gave the Huguenots, as the French Reformers were called, both encouragement and help.

§ 255. **Mary's Marriage with Darnley.**—In 1565 Mary married **Henry, Lord Darnley**, who, like herself, was

descended from Margaret Tudor, and she thus strengthened her claim on Elizabeth's throne. In the following year their son, the future king of England, was born. But the marriage was by no means happy. Mary disliked her husband, and not without reason. In 1567 he was murdered, and when in the same year the Queen of Scots married his murderer she was suspected of being concerned in the crime.

§ 256. *Mary's Flight to England.*—The Scottish nobles rose against her and defeated her in battle. She was deposed and put in prison, but managed to escape. After a second defeat she fled to England, where Elizabeth kept her a prisoner for nineteen years. During that time she was the centre of every plot against Elizabeth. Within a year of her imprisonment a rebellion broke out in the north of England. The aim of the rebels was to put Mary on the throne, and to marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, or some Roman Catholic prince. The rising was eventually crushed, and when a new plot came to light in 1571 Norfolk was beheaded.

§ 257. *The Romanist Attack on Elizabeth.*—The Papacy greatly desired the removal of Elizabeth. The year after the failure of the Northern Rising, Pope Pius V. published a **Bull of Excommunication and Deposition** against her, and forbade her subjects to obey her. Some nine years later Pope Gregory XIII. sent a small party of **Jesuits** to England to win the country back to the Roman obedience. The result was that Parliament passed severe laws against Roman Catholics, in consequence of which over two hundred persons died on the scaffold before the end of the reign. An association was also formed by loyal subjects of the Queen for the protection of her life.

§ 258. **Elizabeth and the Puritans.**—The Protestant as well as the Roman Catholic party had grown more aggressive since the accession of Elizabeth. In 1565 some of the Reformers protested against the use of vestments, and about the same time their demand for a “purer” form of worship won them the nickname of **Puritans**. In 1572 a **Presbyterian** form of Church government was first suggested as a substitute for the existing **Episcopalian** government of the English Church. Towards the end of her reign Elizabeth punished both Puritans and Romanists.

§ 259. **Elizabeth’s Relations with France.**—Though Elizabeth had helped the Huguenots, England and France were drawn together because both feared the power of Spain. Elizabeth even talked of a marriage connection. The Duke of Anjou and the Duke of Alençon, brothers of the King of France, were both in turn suggested as possible husbands for her. But probably she never seriously contemplated either marriage; for, though often urged by Parliament to marry, she always refused. If she married a Roman Catholic she would offend her Protestant subjects, and if she married a Protestant she would equally offend the Romanists, so she did not venture to do either. She nevertheless maintained an alliance with France. In 1572, when the French government massacred ten thousand Huguenots on St. Bartholomew’s Day, the alliance was broken, but only for a short time. Elizabeth felt herself bound to show her disapproval of the deed, but she did not wish to quarrel with France.

§ 260. **Elizabeth and Spain.**—Elizabeth and Philip of Spain had long been rivals, Elizabeth being the champion of Protestantism, Philip the champion of Roman Catholicism in Europe. English and Spanish sailors were, moreover, continually contending for the trade of the

West Indies and South America. The Pope had given the Spaniards rights of trading with the New World which the English would not admit. Though the two nations were nominally at peace fighting had long been going on between them and they had learnt to hate each other cordially. But the most serious cause of quarrel was the aid which each monarch gave to the other's rebellious subjects. Elizabeth secretly helped the Netherlanders, who were carrying on a bitter struggle for religious and political freedom against the tyranny of Philip and his ministers, and Philip supported all the plots of Elizabeth's English subjects.

§ 261. **Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.**—Thus Philip supported the **Ridolfi** plot of 1571, the **Throgmorton** plot of 1583, and the **Babington** plot of 1586. All these plots are known by the name of a chief conspirator and all had the same aims—to assassinate Elizabeth and to place Mary, Queen of Scots, upon the throne. The last brought Mary to the block. She was accused of having taken part in it and other plots, and was executed in 1587. Already, after the assassination of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the leader of the revolt in the Netherlands, Elizabeth, fearing that the Netherlanders would be subdued and that Philip would then be free to attack England, had been driven to give them open aid.

§ 262. **Philip's Preparations for War.**—At this point Philip realised that he must crush England before he could hope to subdue the Netherlands. The death of Mary Stuart had enabled him to put in a claim for the English throne, and he had long been preparing an **Armada** for the invasion of England. It would probably have appeared in the year of Mary's death had not Sir **Francis Drake** destroyed part of it in Cadiz Harbour.

Drake called this exploit "singeing the King of Spain's beard."

§ 263. **The Defeat of the Armada.**—In July 1588 the Armada sailed for Dunkirk in Flanders, where an army of veterans should have been waiting to cross to England. But nothing was ready, and as the fleet sailed up the Channel the English, issuing from Plymouth, began a running fight, in which the advantage was all on the side of their smaller and more manageable ships. The Spanish admiral attempted to halt at Calais, but the English, by sending fireships among them, compelled the Spanish ships to move on, and on the morning of the 30th began a new attack. For a time it seemed that the wind, which was N.E., would drive the Spaniards on to the Flemish shore, but it changed to S.W. on the morning of the 31st, and the Armada fled northwards before it. While attempting to return round the rocky coasts of Scotland, most of the ships were wrecked. With the defeat of the Armada the independence of England was secured, and Elizabeth had no longer any reason to dread foreign interference.

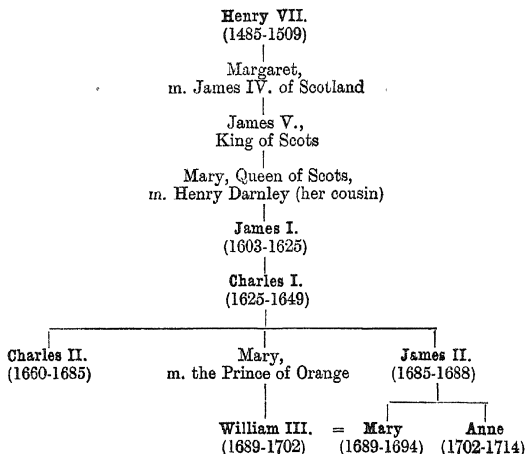
§ 264. **Ireland under Elizabeth.**—When Elizabeth came to the throne, the English rule in Ireland was only fully acknowledged by the inhabitants of a small district round Dublin, and there was a rebellion in the early part of the reign. Later, the attempt to establish colonies of Englishmen in Ireland caused two other revolts. The first was directed only against the plantations, as the new colonies were called. But the second was also a religious revolt. It was encouraged by the Pope, and a Papal Legate and a few Spanish soldiers landed in Ireland to support it. It was finally put down in 1584. Another rebellion broke out in 1596, which also received Spanish aid. Elizabeth sent her

favourite, Essex, to suppress it, but he failed and was recalled. His successor, however, brought Ireland to submission in 1603.

§ 265. **Elizabeth's Last Years.**—Ever since Henry VIII.'s reign an effort had been made to put a stop to begging, and at last a general Poor Law was passed which enacted that work was to be found by each parish for those who could work, and support was to be given to those who, through age or ill-health, could not work, while those who would not were to be punished. Towards the close of the reign Parliament showed signs of a growing independence, and the Queen's last Parliament protested so loudly against her practice of granting monopolies that Elizabeth promised to withdraw the most harmful of these concessions.

§ 266. **Death of Elizabeth.**—Elizabeth's end was very lonely. The death of her wisest Councillor, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in 1598 had deprived her of her best friend. She was deeply grieved by the death of the Earl of Leicester, her first favourite, the man whom it was thought she would have most wished to marry, and by the execution of her last favourite, the Earl of Essex, for treasonable conduct after his return from Ireland. Her popularity was passing away, and she must have felt that her work was done. In 1603 she died, indicating by signs that the King of Scotland was to be her successor. With all her faults, and they were many, she had been a great Queen. She was vain and untrustworthy, but she cared for the interests of the nation that she ruled. She spoke truly when she said "Never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good."

DESCENT OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.



BOOK VI.

The Puritan Revolution.

Introduction.

§ 267. **The End of Absolute Monarchy.**—The Tudors had been allowed to exercise despotic powers for a special end, and before the death of Elizabeth they had fulfilled their allotted task. They had given England peace and order at home and a strong position abroad. The need for a powerful monarchy was therefore over, and the time had come for Parliament to resume the powers which it had been unfit to exercise in the fifteenth century.

§ 268. **The Aims of the Stuarts.**—The aims of the Stuarts unfortunately clashed with those of Parliament. They expected to be quite as powerful as the Tudors, and, unconsciously, they tried to be even more arbitrary. The power of **Henry VIII.** and **Elizabeth** had been due as much to their tact and skill in humouring the people as to the desire of the nation for a strong government. But the Stuarts did not realise this. They themselves had no tact, and they considered it beneath the dignity of a king to consult the wishes of his subjects. They believed that God, in making them by birth inheritors of the English throne, had shown it to be His will that they should rule over the English people, and had thereby given them a **Divine Right** to the obedience of the nation.

§ 269. **Contest between the Stuarts and Parliament.**—The Stuarts accordingly tried to exact from Parliament an unquestioning assent to their wishes, which Elizabeth would neither have asked nor have received. **James I.**'s despotic methods sowed the first seeds of irritation between King and Parliament, and under the still more arbitrary government of **Charles I.** the spirit of rebellion grew rapidly. From a claim to have a voice in the government Parliament soon passed to a claim to control the government. No agreement being possible owing to the incurable obstinacy of the Stuarts, the contest had to be decided by civil war. The war ended in the victory of Parliament. **Charles I.** was beheaded, and the Stuarts were banished for a time, while England became first a **Commonwealth**, and then, under **Cromwell**, a **Protectorate**.

§ 270. **The Religious Contest.**—The struggle had a religious as well as a political side. The chief contest, however, no longer lay between the **Roman Catholic** party and the **Protestant** party. In 1603 the Romanists were in a decided minority, and after the Gunpowder Plot they were in great disfavour with both king and nation. The struggle was mainly fought out between two divisions of the Protestant party, the Puritan and the **Episcopalian**; the former disliking ceremonies and the government of the Church by bishops, the latter approving both. The Stuart kings, by steadily setting their faces against Puritanism, compelled the Puritans to join forces with the political opponents of the monarchy. Thus Parliament was strengthened and inspired by Puritanism in the struggle with the king.

§ 271. **The Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648.**—During the sixteenth century Spain was the leading nation in Europe, but before the close of the century its greatness had begun to

decline. After the failure of the Spaniards in their wars with the Netherlands, France, and England, France became the dominant power in Europe. In 1618 the **Thirty Years' War** broke out. It was an attempt on the part of the Emperor, supported by his kinsman the King of Spain, to crush Protestantism and to unite all Germany under his rule. The attempt was finally frustrated by France, the rival of Spain, in 1648.

§ 272. **England and the Thirty Years' War.**—The English took little part in the war. They would have liked to help the German Protestants against their Catholic enemies, but James I. could only be induced to make belated and futile efforts to save the dominions of his son-in-law, the **Elector Palatine**. And, in the reign of Charles I., England was too fully occupied at home to take part in foreign contests. The **Thirty Years' War** in Germany came to an end in 1648, but the contest between France and Spain still continued. Under Cromwell the English joined in the war against Spain, and, though not always successful, made one or two conquests.

CHAPTER XV.

James I., 1603-1625.

Born 1566 ; married Anne of Denmark 1589 ; died 1625.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Empire. | France. | Spain. |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| Ferdinand II. (1619) | Henry IV. (1589) (First <i>Bourbon</i> <i>King</i> of France) Louis XIII. (1610) | Philip III. (1598) Philip IV. (1621) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1603. Main and Bye Plots. | 1606. Bate's Case. |
| 1604. Hampton Court Conference. | 1621. Impeachment of Bacon. |
| 1605. Gunpowder Plot. | 1624. Spanish War. |

§ 273. Title of James I.—Elizabeth was succeeded by James Stuart, King of Scotland. Henry VIII. had willed that the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, and her second husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, should succeed his own children. But James Stuart, as the great grandson of Margaret Tudor, the elder sister of Henry VIII., was, by descent, the rightful heir to the English throne. His accession, moreover, brought with it the long-desired union of England and Scotland under one

crown. The new king was therefore accepted by all parties, and Henry VIII.'s will was ignored.

§ 274. **The Main and the Bye Plots, 1603.**—Two plots, however, came to light in 1603. To distinguish them from each other the one was called the **Main**, the other the **Bye Plot**. The chief object of the former seems to have been the downfall of the king's minister, Cecil. The conspirators, however, appear also to have had some idea of putting James' cousin, Lady **Arabella Stuart**, on the throne. The king thought so little of this at the time that he did not even consider it necessary to imprison Arabella. But her secret marriage seven years later with Sir **William Seymour**, the head of the rival House of Suffolk, alarmed James so much that he put her in prison in 1611, and kept her there until her death. The object of the Bye Plot was to force the Government to grant some measure of religious toleration.

§ 275. **Puritans and Roman Catholics.**—The new king was faced on his accession by a religious problem which needed to be solved by wise toleration. The Puritans and Roman Catholics were, for quite different reasons, dissatisfied with Elizabeth's Church settlement, and both hoped that James would give them leave to hold services of their own.

§ 276. **The Hampton Court Conference.**—The Puritans laid their wishes before the king in a petition known as the **Millenary Petition**,¹ and he called a conference at Hampton Court to consider their requests. But some allusion to Presbyterianism annoyed him, and he broke off the conference in anger. James disliked the Presbyterians. Indeed he believed, as Elizabeth had done, that Presbyterianism would lead to republicanism. "No bishop meant,"

¹ So called because it was signed by a thousand ministers.

he said, "no king." But the conference, though it failed in its main object, was not fruitless. The king granted a request for a new translation of the Bible, and, as a result, the **Authorised Version**, which is still in general use, appeared in 1611.

§ 277. **The Gunpowder Plot.**—Before he had been long on the throne, James put the laws against the Roman Catholics into force once more. As a result a band of Catholics planned to blow up the Houses of Parliament with gunpowder on November 5th, 1605, when the king and Prince of Wales were to be present. The **Gunpowder Plot** was betrayed by an anonymous letter, and, on the night before the meeting of Parliament, **Guy Fawkes**, one of the conspirators, was arrested in the cellars beneath the House of Lords, where the material for the explosion lay in readiness. He and most of the leaders of the plot were either executed or killed while attempting to escape.

§ 278. **James and Parliament.**—From the very beginning of his reign James disagreed with **Parliament**. The first difference was due to the Puritan demands for greater liberty of worship. The question of finance was a still more serious source of quarrel. Parliament thought James extravagant, and having given him the customary grant of **Tonnage and Poundage** for life, it expected him to make it suffice. This, however, was hardly possible, and James tried to eke out his income by increasing the customs duties without the consent of Parliament.

§ 279. **Taxation and the Royal Revenue.**—As early as 1362 Parliament had denied the right of the Crown to control indirect taxation (*i.e.* the customs), but in 1606 at the trial of a man named **Bate**, who had refused to pay a tax on currants, the judges declared James' new "impositions" to be legal. In 1610 the king's minister Cecil tried

to make a bargain with Parliament called the **Great Contract**. James was to exchange his uncertain and burdensome feudal dues for a fixed parliamentary grant. But, as usual, the two parties could not agree, and Parliament was dissolved. Poverty compelled the king to call another in 1614, but there was again a deadlock over the money question, and this Parliament also was dissolved. It had sat nine weeks only and had not passed a single measure. It was derisively nicknamed the **Addled Parliament**.

§ 280. **Foreign Policy of James.**—While his minister, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was alive, James continued Elizabeth's policy of peace, and preferred a French to a Spanish alliance. It agreed well with the king's ambition, which was to be a peace-maker both at home and abroad. Salisbury died in 1612, after arranging a marriage, which took place in the following year, between James' daughter, Elizabeth, and the **Elector Palatine**, the ruler of one of the principal Protestant states of Europe. After Cecil's death James departed from the anti-Spanish attitude of Elizabeth, and began to think of marrying his second son, Charles, who had become his heir on the death of his eldest son Henry in 1612, to the Infanta of Spain. He was attracted by her dowry, and by the idea that an alliance with a Catholic as well as one with a Protestant power would help him to maintain peace in Europe.

§ 281. **Sir Walter Raleigh.**—For many years the Spanish ambassador was able to control the government of England by fanning James' hopes of a Spanish alliance, and it was to Spain that Sir Walter Raleigh was sacrificed in 1618. Raleigh had been found guilty of complicity in the **Main Plot**, and condemned to death. His sentence had not been carried out, but he was kept a prisoner in the Tower until,

in 1617, he obtained permission to make an expedition to Guiana in search of gold. He received strict orders from James not to come into conflict with the Spaniards, orders which unfortunately for himself were disregarded. Had he been successful he might have been pardoned, but he returned empty-handed. The Spanish ambassador urged his execution, and the king, fearing that Raleigh would betray his own friendship with Spain to the nation, denied him a public trial and had him put to death under his old sentence.

§ 282. **The Thirty Years' War.**—In 1618 James' son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, by accepting an offer of the crown of Bohemia, involved himself in a serious contest with the Emperor. The English people wished to help the Elector because he was a Protestant fighting against Catholics. James, who thought that the Emperor had a Divine Right to the throne, refused. But, after the Elector had been driven out of Bohemia, and when it appeared that he was in danger of losing his hereditary dominion, the Palatinate, also, James sent him aid. But this aid was not enough to save the Palatinate, which was conquered, in 1622, by the Emperor with the aid of the King of Spain.

§ 283. **The Revival of Impeachment.**—For six and a half years James had ruled without a Parliament, raising the money he needed partly by a benevolence, partly by impositions (§ 279), partly by selling the new title of **Baronet**. But the need of a war-grant compelled him to summon a Parliament in 1621. It showed great independence. It impeached Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, for accepting bribes, and drew up a "Protestation" which asserted that Parliament could debate on any matters of national interest, such as foreign affairs, the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of grievances. James tore this Protestation

out of the records of the House with his own hands and dissolved Parliament.

§ 284. **Last Parliament of James.**—James did not call a fourth Parliament until he was compelled to do so, two or three years later, by the need of another war-grant. Because it approved of his war in defence of the Palatinate, it made him a liberal grant; and it passed an Act declaring monopolies illegal. It was James' last Parliament and the first with which he had no quarrel.

§ 285. **Visit of Prince Charles to Spain.**—James thought that the Spanish alliance might still be a means of securing the restoration of the Palatinate. In 1623 he allowed his son Charles and his favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to go to Spain to hasten the long-delayed marriage. But the King of Spain would not do what they asked. They therefore returned to England in anger, and induced James to declare war against Spain. Some English soldiers were sent up the Rhine under a German general, Count Mansfeld, but the expedition was a complete failure.

§ 286. **Death of James.**—In 1624 James and Charles concluded a marriage treaty with France. In the following year the king died. It was during his reign that Englishmen first made permanent settlements in the **Bermudas**, in the **West Indies**, and in **North America**, and that the **East India Company of London** began to trade with **India**. Thus, besides the constitutional importance due to the revived activity of Parliament, the reign of James had also considerable colonial importance.

§ 287. **Character of James.**—But the nation owed little to James himself. His rough and undignified manners had made him personally unpopular, and his favouritism had lost him the respect of his people. Beauty was the sole

passport to his goodwill, and his subjects saw him with contempt the tool in turn of an unscrupulous man like his first favourite, Carr, and an incompetent man like his last favourite, Buckingham. His policy, moreover, had been disastrous in Scotland, where he had been trying to restore Episcopacy, as well as in England. Able as he undoubtedly was, he had increased all the difficulties of his reign by his obstinacy, by his want of tact, and by his lack of practical wisdom.

CHAPTER XVI.

Charles I., 1625-1649.

Born 1600 ; married Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. of France, 1625 ; executed 1649.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Empire. | France. | Spain. |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Ferdinand II. (1619) | Louis XIII. (1610) Louis XIV. (1643-1715) | Philip IV. (1621-1665) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1628. Petition of Right. | 1643. Solemn League and Covenant. |
| 1640. Long Parliament. | 1644. Battle of Nantwich. |
| 1641. Triennial Bill. | 1644. Battle of Marston Moor. |
| 1641. Abolition of Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. | 1644. Battle of Tippermuir. |
| 1641. Ulster Insurrection. | 1644. Battle of Newbury (Second). |
| 1641. Grand Remonstrance. | 1645. Treaty of Uxbridge. |
| 1642-9. Civil War. | 1645. Battle of Naseby. |
| 1642. Battle of Edgehill. | 1649. Trial and Execution of Charles. |
| 1643. Battle of Adwalton Moor. | |
| 1643. Battle of Newbury (First). | |

Period of Parliamentary Government and Foreign War.

§ 288. Character of Charles I.—As a ruler Charles I. had many faults. He was even more self-confident, even more prejudiced, and even more obstinate than his father.

He was also untrustworthy. Though honourable in private life, he could never be relied upon to keep a political engagement. He always persuaded himself that circumstances justified him in breaking any promise which he found it inconvenient to keep. At times he did not even shrink from deliberate deception in "a good cause."

§ 289. **Difficulties of his Position.**—His position was no easy one. James I.'s harsh treatment of the Puritans had driven them into an open opposition to the bishops and the Crown. England was moreover engaged in a war which had begun with a disastrous failure, owing entirely to the fact that the English troops had been sent out with insufficient supplies of men and money. And, finally, Charles was under the influence of Buckingham, who was distrusted by Parliament and unpopular with the nation.

§ 290. **Early Dispute with Parliament.**—Charles' first act was to marry Henrietta Maria of France; his next to summon a parliament for the purpose of getting a war grant. But Parliament would vote no extraordinary supplies while the management of the war was in Buckingham's hands. In the hope of making the king entirely dependent upon it, it even proposed to grant him **Tunnage and Poundage** for one year only instead of for life as was the usual custom. Charles dissolved his first Parliament in anger before it had given him any money.

§ 291. **Impeachment of Buckingham.**—Charles and Buckingham then sent out an expedition to Cadiz. They put an incompetent commander at its head, and another failure was the result. Finding that he could do nothing without money, the king summoned a second parliament early in 1626. It at once impeached Buckingham. To save his friend, Charles dissolved it, again without having

obtained the much-needed supplies. At the same time, he was unwise enough to quarrel with France. When the Huguenots rebelled against the King of France, in 1627, he sent Buckingham to aid them. The result was war with France as well as with Spain and a more urgent need of money than before.

§ 292. **Arbitrary Taxation.**—Already Charles had been compelling his subjects to “lend” money to him. He called his exactions loans because, though he had no intention of repaying them, the law did not allow him to make his people give him money. He also collected tunnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament, and made the maritime towns supply him with ships for the relief of La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold, which the King of France was besieging. Buckingham attempted to relieve La Rochelle by occupying the island of Rhé. As usual he was unsuccessful. Nothing daunted, however, by his repeated failures, he began to prepare a second expedition.

§ 293. **The Five Knights’ Case.**—In the meantime Charles was pressing men into service in the army and navy, and “billeting” troops upon the people. All who opposed the king were punished by martial law or thrown into prison, no reason being given for their arrest. If no charge was lodged against them, they could not well be tried, and might therefore be detained in prison for an indefinite time. Five knights so imprisoned, however, sued out writs of *habeas corpus*—that is to say, each obtained from the Court of the King’s Bench an order to his jailor to “produce his body” before the court that it might be shown whether he was lawfully detained or not. In this case the judges declared that the king’s special command was sufficient to justify both arrest without cause shown and imprisonment without a trial.

§ 294. **The Petition of Right, 1628.**—Charles had recently dismissed a judge for condemning his exactions as illegal, and it was clear that the other judges were afraid to give a judgment against him. Under the circumstances men felt that their personal liberty was at the mercy of the king. Some members of Charles' third Parliament, led by Sir John Eliot, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and John Pym, thereupon determined to remedy this and other evils. They accordingly drew up an important document called the **Petition of Right**. It asked that there should be—

- (1) no more forced loans, and no taxes without consent of Parliament,
- (2) no imprisonment of freemen "without cause shown,"
- (3) no billeting of soldiers and mariners in private houses,
- (4) no execution of martial law in times of peace.

After being privately assured by the judges that the Petition would not really limit his powers, and that his hands would be no more tied than before, Charles gave his consent to it.

§ 295. **The Assassination of Buckingham.**—The fruitless waste of lives and money in the war with Spain had made Buckingham more unpopular than ever, and just as he was about to start on a second expedition to Rhé, he was assassinated. After the death of Buckingham, Charles and his Parliament might possibly have become more friendly had not the king's church policy roused the ire of the Commons. He tried to silence them by adjourning Parliament, but they held the Speaker of the House in his chair and thus made an adjournment impossible until they had expressed their opinion of the king's method of government. Charles then dissolved Parliament and determined to rule without it. In order that want of money should not again compel him to summon one, he made peace with France and Spain.

Eleven Years of Personal Rule.

§ 296. **Financial Methods of the King.**—Charles thought that he would be able to raise enough money for the ordinary expenses of government without having recourse to Parliament. His methods of procuring a revenue, though perhaps strictly legal, were all unconstitutional in spirit and irritating to the nation. He exacted tunnage and poundage without consent of Parliament. He revived forgotten laws, and imposed fines on all who broke or had broken them. He sold monopolies to companies on the ground that the Monopoly Act of 1624 had only forbidden him to grant them to individuals; and, finally, he exacted ship-money from all the towns in England.

§ 297. **Trial of John Hampden.**—The king was entitled in times of danger to call upon each maritime town to supply him with a ship for the defence of the country. But Charles asked for money instead of ships, and demanded it from inland as well as from seaside towns. In 1637 John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, was tried for refusing to pay ship-money, and the judges, as usual in this period, gave a verdict in favour of the king.

§ 298. **Religious Policy of the Crown.**—Throughout these years the king and William Laud, Bishop of London, were trying to compel the use of stately ceremonies and vestments in the services of the Church. Opposition to Laud's commands was punished by the Court of High Commission—a court founded by the Tudors, and endowed with religious powers similar to the civil powers of the Star Chamber. The result was that the Puritans grew daily more antagonistic to the bishops and to the Crown; while the moderate Protestants, who considered Laud's views "Popish," grew daily more Puritan.

§ 299. **Emigration and Opposition.**—The religious policy of the Crown had been driving Puritans out of England since the time of James I., and the drastic discipline of the Bishop of London brought with it a great increase of emigration. Discontent became more prevalent than ever after the appointment of Laud to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633. Four years later, when three men were condemned to be pilloried, and to have their ears cut off for libelling the bishops, there was an open display of public sympathy on their behalf.

§ 300. **Wentworth in Ireland.**—In 1633 the most able supporter of the policy of Charles and Laud was Viscount—formerly Sir Thomas—Wentworth. Some years before he had opposed Charles in Parliament, and had helped to draw up the Petition of Right. But his opposition had been chiefly due to distrust of Buckingham, and, after the latter's death, when it was clear that the quarrel between king and Parliament had definitely developed into a contest for sovereignty, he became an ardent supporter of the king. Charles made him Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His period of rule there was marked by increased prosperity, improved trade, and an augmented revenue. But his severity aggravated rather than lessened the religious animosity of the people. Wentworth raised a small standing army in Ireland, which he was afterwards said to have recommended the king to use against his rebellious subjects in England.

§ 301. **Scottish Policy of Charles.**—Meanwhile Charles' attempt to complete James I.'s restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland was arousing opposition. In 1637 he ordered the use of a prayer-book in Scotland similar to that in use in England. A **National Covenant** was immediately drawn up against Popery, and Charles was intimidated

into withdrawing the prayer-book. A few months later the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk abolished Episcopacy and restored Presbyterianism. Charles refused to accept the change, and both sides prepared for war. The army of the Scots being, however, superior to that of the king, he agreed to refer the disputed question to the Scottish Assembly and Estates for settlement.

Renewed Attempt at Parliamentary Government, 1640-1642.

§ 302. **The Short Parliament.**—The Scottish Estates made demands to which Charles did not wish to agree. He therefore acted upon the advice of **Laud** and **Wentworth** and summoned an English Parliament, in the hope that it would grant him enough money to enable him to make war upon the Scots. But he soon found that it would give him nothing until he had remedied some of the abuses of his government. He accordingly dissolved it after it had sat for only three weeks. A few months later the Scots invaded the North of England and the king having neither troops nor money was unable to repulse them. Very reluctantly he made up his mind to summon another Parliament.

§ 303. **Meeting of the Long Parliament and Execution of Strafford.**—The new Parliament at once sent **Wentworth** (now Earl of **Strafford**) and **Laud** to prison. The chief accusation against **Strafford** was his alleged advice to Charles to use the Irish army against "this kingdom." The Commons attempted to impeach him of high treason, but since he had undoubtedly been faithful to the king, the Lords were not disposed to find him guilty on that charge. The Commons accordingly changed their tactics,

and condemned him to death by **Bill of Attainder**. Charles gave an unwilling assent and Strafford was executed.

§ 304. **Bills for securing Parliamentary Government.**—In the meantime Parliament had passed a **Triennial Act**, which ordained that there should not in future be an interval of more than three years between two Parliaments. Charles had also been forced to agree to a bill which enacted that Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent.

§ 305. **Limitation of the Powers of the Crown.**—Parliament's next step was to abolish the Courts of the **Star Chamber** and **High Commission**. It afterwards declared both the levying of customs without consent of Parliament, and **Ship-money** to be illegal. Then, and not till then, it gave Charles liberal supplies of money. At this point a rebellion broke out in Ireland. The native Irish in Ulster took advantage of the removal of Strafford's iron hand to massacre a number of Protestant settlers. It was necessary to raise troops to suppress them. But Parliament was uncertain how to act. It was afraid to trust the king with an army.

§ 306. **The Grand Remonstrance, 1641.**—Already the Commons had been weakened by division. A few months before, the introduction of a Bill, called the **Root and Branch Bill**, for the abolition of Episcopacy had split the House into two parties, and the more conservative members had gone over to the king's side. Thereupon Pym, Hampden, and other leaders of the Opposition tried to put new life into their party by reminding them of the king's arbitrary actions. They drew up the **Grand Remonstrance**, a document which contained an enumeration of the events of the reign, a condemnation of the king's policy, and a demand for remedies, especially the

appointment of "ministers in whom the Parliament could confide."

§ 307. **The Attack on the Five Members.**—The Remonstrance was carried by a small majority only. Encouraged by this, Charles accused one peer and five members of the House of Commons, including Pym and Hampden, of treason, and went to the House with an armed force to arrest them. He found that "the birds were flown," and that the Commons would not help him to capture them. As a result of this unwise step, Charles lost all the popularity which he had recently gained. A few days later he left London, not to return until he came back a prisoner.

308. **Active Rebellion.**—Parliament then asked the king to surrender the control of the militia. When he refused, it took measures to secure both militia and fleet. In April 1642 Sir John Hotham, by order of Parliament, refused to admit the king into his arsenal at Hull. In July Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex captain of its forces; and in August the king gave the signal for civil war by setting up his standard at Nottingham.

Civil War, 1642-1649.

§ 309. **The Royalist and Puritan Parties.**—On the whole the backward part of England, the north and west, supported the king, and the progressive part, the south and east, supported Parliament. But there was no exact dividing line, either geographical or political, between the two parties. Some loyal men joined the king although they did not approve of his government, and many men, who were not really opponents of the monarchy, were to be found on the side of Parliament. The chief principle of division was religion. To Puritanism the Parliamen-

tarians owed their chief bond of unity, their noblest leaders, and all their zeal.

§ 310. **The First Campaign, 1642.**—The king's chief object was to gain possession of London. He attempted to reach it in the autumn of 1642, but was delayed by the indecisive battle of **Edgehill**, and finally checked by the London trained bands at **Brentford**. He then retired for the winter to Oxford. Parliament, having already had enough of civil war, offered the king favourable terms in the **Treaty of Oxford**, but could not come to any agreement with him. It accordingly reorganised its troops and prepared for a second campaign.

§ 311. **The Second Campaign, 1643.**—Early in 1643 a division of the Parliamentarians under the **Earl of Manchester** and **Oliver Cromwell**, a Puritan yeoman of good position, gained a firm hold on Lincolnshire. But elsewhere the Royalists were victorious. In one of the many skirmishes which were fought near Oxford the Parliamentarians suffered a heavy loss in the death of **Hampden** at **Chalgrove**. The **Earl of Newcastle** secured nearly the whole of Yorkshire for the King by defeating the **Fairfaxes** at **Adwalton Moor**, near Bradford; **Hopton** gained the Western Counties by a victory at **Roundway Down**, near **Devizes**; and **Prince Rupert**, the King's nephew, took **Bristol**.

§ 312. **Indecisive Result of the Second Campaign.**—The way seemed open for a combined march of the three principal Royalist armies on London. But they waited for the fall of the besieged towns of **Hull**, **Gloucester**, and **Plymouth**, and the delay proved fatal to their hopes. **Plymouth** was relieved from the sea; **Hull** was relieved by **Cromwell**; and **Gloucester** was relieved by **Essex**, who secured his retreat on London, after a fight with the king at **Newbury** in Berkshire.

§ 313. **Scotland and Ireland, 1643.**—Two campaigns had been fought without decisive result. Before the close of the second, it was evident that neither party could win unaided, and the area of the contest was extended. The Royalists secured the aid of the Irish, the Parliamentarians that of the Scots. The Irish Romanists joined the King because they knew that Parliament, if it won, would avenge the Ulster massacre (§ 305). The Covenanters (§ 301) supported Parliament because they feared the vengeance of the King for their invasion of England in 1640. As the price of their alliance the Scots exacted from Parliament, in the Solemn League and Covenant, a promise to “preserve” the Scottish Church and to “reform” the English.

§ 314. **Third Campaign, 1644.**—The Irish troops were of no use to the King. They had hardly entered England before they were crushed by the Fairfaxes at Nantwich. The Scottish aid, on the other hand, permanently turned the balance of the war in favour of Parliament. The Scots attacked the Royalist forces in the north, and in combination with Manchester, Cromwell, and Fairfax, shut up the Marquis of Newcastle in York. Prince Rupert raised the siege of York, but he was defeated immediately afterwards on **Marston Moor**, a few miles west of the city. Cromwell's cavalry drove Rupert's off the field, and then returned just in time to save the right wing of the Puritan army from defeat. This victory secured the North for the Parliament.

§ 315. **The Campaign in the South, 1644.**—The victory at **Marston Moor** established the reputation of Cromwell's troopers—the so-called Ironsides. They owed their success in part to the skill of their commander, in part to the strict discipline which he enforced, but most of all to their religious

zeal, for Cromwell insisted that his soldiers should be God-fearing men. Meanwhile in the South, Waller, after defeating Hopton at Cheriton in Hampshire, joined forces with Essex and laid siege to Oxford. But the two commanders quarrelled and separated, whereupon Charles fell upon Waller and defeated him at Cropredy Bridge in Oxfordshire, and then following Essex into Cornwall captured his entire army at Lostwithiel. He then tried to reach London, but was intercepted by the Eastern army at Newbury.

§ 316. **The Successes of Montrose, 1644-1645.**—In Scotland the royal cause was gaining ground. The alliance of the Marquis of Argyll, chief of the powerful clan of Campbell, with Parliament induced many of the Highland clans, who hated the Campbells, to take up arms for the king. They were led by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose. In the autumn of 1644 he won a victory at Tippermuir, and another at Aberdeen. In the following year he secured a series of successes, ending with a final triumph at Kilsyth. Early in 1645 Parliament offered the king hard terms in the Treaty of Uxbridge. They asked him to take the Covenant, to abolish Episcopacy, and to entrust the government of the country to a committee for twenty years. But Charles refused.

§ 317. **Division among the Puritans.**—The condemnation of Laud by Bill of Attainder and his execution at the beginning of the year had only strengthened the king's adherence to Episcopacy. At the same time his hopes of final victory had been raised by the early successes of Montrose, and by an outbreak of discord among his enemies. The Puritans had divided into two parties: the Presbyterians and the Independents. The Independents, led by Oliver Cromwell, wanted greater religious

liberty. They thought that every Puritan congregation should be allowed to choose its own form of worship and its own beliefs.

§ 318. **The New Model Army.**—In 1645 Cromwell accused Manchester, Essex, and Waller—all three being Presbyterians—of not trying to defeat the king, and he asked for a reorganisation of the army. As a result, a regular standing army was formed, and Parliament, by an ordinance, called the **Self-denying Ordinance**, forbade its members to hold military commands. All the generals whom Cromwell distrusted lost their posts. Cromwell himself, however, though also a member of Parliament, was made head of the cavalry in consideration of his great military talent. Sir Thomas—later Lord—Fairfax became Lord-General of the Parliamentary troops, and the reorganised forces were called the **New Model Army**.

§ 319. **The Fourth and Fifth Campaigns, 1645-1646.**—The New Model Army decided the results of the fourth campaign. It intercepted Charles on his way to join Montrose and defeated him at Naseby, near Market Harborough. Three months later the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh completed the ruin of the king's military power. At the same time, his credit was seriously injured by the capture of his papers after Naseby, and the discovery that he had been seeking the aid of the Irish rebels and of the French. In the fifth campaign (1646) Hopton's surrender to Fairfax at Truro and Sir Jacob Astley's defeat at Stow-on-the-Wold left Charles without an army in the field. In May he sought a refuge in the Scottish camp at Newark and the First Civil War came to an end.

§ 320. **Quarrel between Parliament and the Army.**—Early in 1647 the Scots returned to their own country, leaving Charles in the hands of Parliament. The leading

party in Parliament thereupon proposed to restore the king to power if he would agree to the establishment of Presbyterianism. To prevent opposition from the Independents, Parliament attempted to reduce the army, but it objected. Led by Cromwell, Fairfax, and Ireton, it seized the king and turned eleven of the Presbyterian leaders out of the House of Commons. It then offered to restore Charles on terms set forth in a document called the **Heads of Proposals**. It asked for the toleration of all religious parties except Roman Catholics, and for a more representative Parliament. These proposals were rejected by the king, who still hoped to regain his power without conditions. He escaped to the Isle of Wight, and continued his negotiations with the Presbyterians and Scots.

§ 321. **The Second Civil War, 1648.**—In 1647 the king made a secret engagement with the Scots. He promised, if they would restore him to power, to give Presbyterianism a three years' trial, and to repress the Independents. In 1648 Royalist risings broke out all over England, and a Scottish army crossed the border to act for the king against the Independents. Fairfax subdued the southern rising and Cromwell marching north inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots at **Preston**. The duplicity of the king was evident, and the army determined to bring him to trial for it. As the Presbyterians would not consent, the army turned one hundred and fifty-three Presbyterian members out of Parliament by means of an armed force under Colonel Pride. This ejection was known as **Pride's Purge**.

§ 322. **Execution of the King, 1649.**—Charles was brought to trial before a specially created High Court of Justice and condemned to death. He was executed on January 30, 1649, outside his palace of Whitehall. He

owed his death to a very great extent to his own obstinacy and to his untrustworthiness. There was nevertheless much to admire in him. He had a sincere belief in the justice and righteousness of his cause; his private life was spotless, and no one of his opponents surpassed him in purity of character. His brave and dignified bearing during his last troubles and at the execution excited almost universal admiration. It was a political opponent who wrote:

“He nothing common did, nor mean,
Upon that memorable scene.”¹

¹ Andrew Marvell.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Commonwealth, 1649-1660.

Oliver Cromwell was appointed Lord Protector 1653 ; on his death in 1658, his son and nominee, Richard, succeeded him, but resigned on May 25, 1659.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Spain. |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| Louis XIV. (1643-1715) | Philip IV. (1621-1665) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1649. Conquest of Ireland. | 1658. Capture of Dunkirk. |
| 1650. Battle of Dunbar. | 1658. Death of Oliver Cromwell. |
| 1651. Battle of Worcester. | 1659. Retirement of Richard Cromwell. |
| 1651. Navigation Act. | |
| 1652-4. Dutch War (First). | 1660. Dissolution of Long Parliament and Restoration of Stuarts. |
| 1653. Cromwell becomes Protector. | |

§ 323. The Establishment of a Commonwealth and Conquest of Ireland.—After the execution of the king, the Army turned the Presbyterians out of Parliament, and the remnant of the House abolished both the office of king and the House of Lords as “dangerous,” and declared England a Commonwealth and Free State. One of the

first acts of the new Commonwealth was to restore order in Ireland. Cromwell avenged the "innocent blood," which had been shed in the rebellion of 1641, by storming **Drogheda** and **Wexford**. The garrisons of both places, were put to the sword. He then left the completion of the conquest to his son-in-law, Ireton.

§ 324. **Settlement of Scotland, 1650-1655.**—The following year saw Cromwell in Scotland, where the eldest son of Charles I., called by the Scots **Charles II.**, had been acknowledged king on condition that he would allow Presbyterianism to remain the religion of the country. In June 1650 Charles came to Scotland, and in the following month Cromwell crossed the Tweed and marched on Edinburgh. The Scottish general, David Leslie, compelled him to retire, but Cromwell, a little later, took advantage of a false move on Leslie's part to defeat him at **Dunbar** on September 3. He then took Edinburgh, but failed to take Stirling. Early in 1651 Charles invaded England. He was pursued by Cromwell, and defeated at **Worcester** on the anniversary of Dunbar. He escaped to France, and Scotland was conquered by Monk and Fleetwood before the end of 1655.

§ 325. **The Navigation Act, 1651.**—The Dutch and English had been commercial rivals throughout the seventeenth century, and in 1651 the English passed a **Navigation Act** which forbade Colonial goods to be imported into England except in ships manned by Englishmen, and European goods except in English vessels or in ships belonging to the country producing the goods. As the carrying trade was the chief source of their wealth the Dutch determined to fight. The Dutch admiral, **Van Tromp**, defeated the English commander, **Robert Blake**, in the mouth of the Thames, in 1652, and then cruised

about with a broom at his mast-head to indicate that he had swept the English off the seas. But next year the Dutch, after being defeated off Portland, Yarmouth, and Texel, acknowledged the supremacy of the English in the Narrow Seas, and promised not to support the Stuart cause.

§ 326. **Quarrel of Parliament and Army.**—In the meantime the Rump, as the sitting part of Parliament was called, had been trying to prolong its own existence. The result was a renewed quarrel between **Parliament** and the **Army**, and Cromwell finally turned the remaining members of Parliament out by force. He then gathered together a new assembly, which was called **Barebone's Parliament** after one of its more prominent members, who had been nicknamed "Praise God" Barebone. It proved to be quite useless and soon dissolved itself on December 11, 1653.

§ 327. **The Protectorate, 1653-1658.**—Five days later Cromwell assumed the title of **Lord Protector** of England, Scotland, and Ireland. His powers were defined by a document called the **Instrument of Government**. It provided that Cromwell was to govern for life, with the aid of a Council of State, and that Parliament was to meet regularly and to be made more representative. Cromwell's first Parliament refused, however, to accept the Instrument of Government. It protested against "government by a single person," and was shortly dissolved.

§ 328. **Foreign Policy of the Protectorate, 1654-1658.**—One of Cromwell's first acts as Protector had been to arrange the peace with the Dutch (§ 325). His policy was always, as far as possible, to befriend Protestants. Thus he forced the Duke of Savoy to stop the persecution of his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois; and, in alliance with France, he made war on Spain, the most intolerant of the Roman Catholic powers. In this war the English were not

always successful, but they took **Jamaica** and **Dunkirk**, and captured two Spanish treasure fleets. Cromwell's energy and force of character raised England to a higher position in Europe than she had held since the death of Elizabeth.

§ 329. **Home Policy of the Protectorate, 1653-1658.**—After the failure of his first Parliament, Cromwell had to suppress both republican and royalist risings. He placed England under martial law for a year, and divided the whole country into thirteen districts, over each of which he placed a **Major-General**. In 1657 a second Parliament met. It offered Cromwell the title of king, and framed a new constitution in a document called the **Humble Petition and Advice**. Oliver refused the title to please the Army, but he accepted the **Humble Petition and Advice**. It gave him power to appoint his successor, and to nominate the members of a second House of Parliament.

§ 330. **Death of the Protector.**—But the two Houses quarrelled, and the Protector soon had to dismiss this Parliament. It proved to be his last. He was worn out by his struggles, and worried by plots against his life. After the death of his favourite daughter he fell ill, and he died on his lucky day, September 3. On the whole, his work had failed and he knew it. In his toleration of all Puritan sects, and in his endeavour to create a completely representative Parliament, he had been too far in advance of his time; and his rule, though more efficient, had been no less arbitrary than that of Charles I.

§ 331. **Character of Cromwell.**—From another point of view his life was not a failure. His career remains as a perpetual monument of the height to which intellectual power and force of character, raised to a white heat by an intense personal religion, can exalt a man. Cromwell was not without faults. He was coarse, taciturn, fiery in

temper and sometimes cruel, but he was none the less a great man. "A larger soul," as a contemporary said, "has seldom dwelt in a house of clay."

§ 332. **Richard Cromwell as Protector.**—Oliver Cromwell was succeeded by his eldest son Richard. But Richard Cromwell had none of his father's genius, and he could not control the Army. He called a Parliament, but the heads of the Army, who were endeavouring to get the military powers of the Protectorate into their own hand, compelled him to dissolve it and to reassemble the Rump. When the Rump met, it objected to government by a single person, and Richard gladly seized the opportunity of retiring into private life. A year of anarchy followed. After several generals had vainly attempted to occupy Oliver's position, George Monk, who was commander in Scotland, came to England with his army and secured the final dissolution of the Long Parliament.

§ 333. **The Restoration of the Stuarts, 1660.**—In 1660 a new Parliament met. It consisted mainly of Presbyterians and Royalists who had fought for Charles I. in the Second Civil War, and it was quite ready to restore the Stuarts to the throne. Charles II. had no sooner signed a **Declaration at Breda**, promising a full amnesty and "liberty for tender consciences" subject to the consent of Parliament, than a deputation was sent to invite him to return to England. On May 25, 1660, he landed at Dover, and four days later made a triumphal entry into London.

BOOK VII.

The Protestant Revolution, 1660-1688.

Introduction.

§ 334. **Reasons for the Failure of the Commonwealth.**—The Puritan government had failed because its political ideals were in advance of the time—the minds of the people were not yet prepared to accept either toleration or a reformed parliament—because its morality was too austere, because of the premature death of its “chief of men,” Oliver Cromwell, but, most of all, because of the hatred which the Independent party had earned for itself by its execution of Charles I.

§ 335. **The Nature of the Restoration.**—The restoration of the Stuarts was apparently a triumph for the monarchy. In reality it was quite as much a victory for Parliament. The Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission were not restored, and the Crown never regained its power to tax without the consent of Parliament. Thenceforward the king had to govern with the aid of Parliament, and by means of the ordinary judicial courts of the land, and to submit to the limitations which they placed upon his power.

§ 336. **Policy of Charles II. and James II.**—The later Stuarts, however, had quite as lofty an idea of the Divine

Right of Kings as the earlier. But Charles II. was diplomatic and did not at first attempt a despotic government. After a time, however, he showed his arbitrary aims by claiming the right to *dispense with*, or to *suspend*, the laws of the land. By means of this claim, Charles II. and James II. tried once more to establish an absolute monarchy in England. James, less cautious and less tactful than his brother, very soon succeeded in arousing the opposition of all classes of his subjects to his policy.

§ 337. **Attitude of the Nation.**—The nation was willing to endure a good deal at the hands of a king who would save it from four things which it had learnt to dread. These four things were "Popery," extreme Puritanism, a standing army, and civil war. But when it realised that James, instead of saving it from "Popery," was trying to restore the Roman Catholic religion in England, its other fears were lost in its greater dread of "Popery," and the result was the **Protestant Revolution** of 1688.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Charles II., 1660-1685.

Born 1630; married Katharine of Braganza 1662; died 1685.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Spain. |
|------------------------|--|
| Louis XIV. (1643-1715) | Philip IV. (1621) Charles II. (1665-1700) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1661. Corporation Act. | 1670. Secret Treaty of Dover. |
| 1662. Fourth Act of Uniformity. | 1672. Declaration of Indulgence. |
| 1664. Conventicle Act. | 1673. Test Act. |
| 1665. Five Mile Act. | 1679. Habeas Corpus Act. |
| 1665. Great Plague. | |
| 1666. Great Fire. | |

The Proscription of Puritanism.

§ 338. **Character of Charles.**—The new king was cunning and unscrupulous in policy, vicious and self-indulgent in private life, and, like the other members of his House, dangerous and unpractical in aim. He was, nevertheless, the wisest of the Stuarts. He knew when to seize an advantage and when it was prudent to draw back. And so he passed safely through all the perils of his reign, and secured peace at the last. That he was a Roman Catholic was not at first suspected.

§ 339. **Punishment of Regicides.**—The assembly which had placed Charles on the throne was called the **Convention**, because, not having been called together by royal summons, it was not strictly a parliament. Its first task, after the restoration of the king, was to deal with the rebels. It finally decided that the king's pardon was to include all who had not taken a direct part in the execution of Charles I. Of the regicides thirteen were put to death, and nineteen were imprisoned for life. But two Presbyterians who were not regicides were also punished.

§ 340. **The Restoration Settlement.**—The Convention then gave Charles fairly liberal supplies of money for life, in return for which the king relinquished his feudal dues. It next disbanded the army. To Charles' annoyance he was only allowed to retain one regiment. Later in the reign other regiments were raised for service abroad, but Parliament always opposed the king's attempts to form a standing army. The Convention was dissolved in 1660, and in the following year it was succeeded by a parliament.

§ 341. **The Settlement of Scotland and Ireland.**—During the Commonwealth the Scots and Irish had been unwillingly compelled to send representatives to the English Parliament. The Restoration released them from this necessity, but in other respects they gained little by the change. Episcopacy was restored in Scotland, and the Marquis of Argyll was executed as a traitor to Charles I., though he had supported the cause of Charles II. in 1650. The Scots lost their trade privileges, and serious restrictions were placed upon Irish trade. The royalists in Ireland received back about one-third of the land which they had lost through Cromwell's conquest. This settlement pleased no one. The Puritans were irritated by the

loss of the land, and the Royalists were dissatisfied because they had not received more.

§ 342. **The Cavalier Parliament.**—The Parliament of 1661 was so exceedingly loyal that it was called the “**Cavalier**” Parliament. It began by declaring that Parliament had no power to make laws without the king, and that it could not legally make war on the king. Being afraid of the Puritan sects, which included many soldiers, it then passed four severe laws against the **Puritans**—the Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act. These laws were known as the **Clarendon Code**, after the king’s chief minister, the Earl of Clarendon. Their aim was to deprive the Puritans of political and social power, to prevent the spread of their doctrines, and to put a stop to their religious assemblies, or conventicles, which it was feared might really be meetings for political conspiracy.

§ 343. **The Clarendon Code, 1661-1665.**—The object of the Corporation Act was to keep the Puritans from taking part in the government of towns and in Parliamentary elections. It required all candidates for office in municipal corporations to take the communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England. The Act of Uniformity compelled all clergymen, fellows of colleges, and schoolmasters to accept the doctrines contained in the Prayer-book of the Church of England. The Conventicle Act forbade Nonconformist prayer-meetings of more than five persons, and the Five Mile Act forbade nonconforming ministers to come within five miles of any borough. In consequence of the Act of Uniformity about two thousand such ministers had lost their livings.

§ 344. **Early Events of the Reign.**—In 1662 Charles II. married Katharine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess,

whose dowry added Tangiers and Bombay to the English territory. Before the close of the same year, however, the king sold Cromwell's conquest, **Dunkirk**, to Louis XIV. of France. In 1665 the commercial rivalry of the English and the Dutch again led to war. Neither side gained a permanent advantage, but in June 1667 the English had the humiliation of seeing a Dutch fleet in the **Medway**. A month later peace was concluded. Meanwhile two disasters had befallen London. In 1665 the citizens had suffered from a terrible epidemic, which is known as the **Great Plague of London**, and in 1666 occurred the **Great Fire of London**, which raged for three days and burnt more than half the city.

§ 345. **Fall of Clarendon, 1667.**—The English laid the blame both of the sale of Dunkirk and the appearance of the Dutch in the Medway on Clarendon. He was universally disliked. He had displeased the king by a half-hearted support of his policy and by long lectures on his conduct, and he had annoyed Parliament by objecting to its claims to control the public expenditure. The Catholics did not love Clarendon, and the Puritans had good reason to hate him. The king dismissed him, the Commons impeached him, and he left the country to escape the probable result of the impeachment.

Attempt to restore Roman Catholicism.

§ 346. **The Cabal.**—After the exile of Clarendon, the king, instead of having one principal adviser, was aided in the work of government by a small group of ministers called a **cabal**. The word originally meant the same as **cabinet**; but, as it happened that the initial letters of the names of the members of one group of Charles' ministers

spelt "cabal," the term came to be applied particularly to them, and to bear in consequence a sinister significance. Their names were **Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.** Their only popular action while in office was the conclusion of a **Triple Alliance** among England, Holland, and Sweden against France.

§ 347. **Foreign Policy of Charles II.**—Meanwhile Louis XIV. was conquering the Spanish Netherlands, and, unless his progress could be checked, would next attack Holland. It was to the interest of Europe that England should support the declining power of Spain against the growing power of France, and keep the balance equal between them. But Charles II. preferred the more profitable alliance of the richer country. He wanted money in order to form a standing army, to make himself independent of Parliament, and to restore Roman Catholicism in England. To get money he was ready to sell his alliance to anyone who would pay for it, and he was soon tempted to desert the Triple Alliance.

§ 348. **The Secret Treaty of Dover.**—In 1670 Charles and Louis came to an agreement which is known to history as the **Secret Treaty of Dover.** It was arranged that in return for large subsidies Charles was to help Louis to conquer the United Netherlands, and that as soon as Charles thought it safe to declare himself a Roman Catholic, Louis was to give him more money, and also troops to put down any rebellion the announcement might cause. To explain his change of policy to the nation Charles made a sham treaty with Louis, exactly like the true one, but omitting the clauses about the restoration of Roman Catholicism. He then began an indecisive naval war with the Dutch, while Louis invaded Holland.

§ 349. **The Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act.**—In 1672 the king ventured on a more open display of his policy. He suspended by royal proclamation all the laws forbidding Catholics and Dissenters to worship as they pleased. From that moment the fear of Puritanism with which the reign had begun was replaced by a dread of “Popery.” Parliament compelled Charles to withdraw his Declaration and to agree to a **Test Act**, which required all office-holders to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and to declare that they did not believe in transubstantiation—a fundamental doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith.

§ 350. **Ministry of Danby.**—The Test Act deprived the king’s brother, **James Duke of York**, an avowed Roman Catholic, of his post of Lord High Admiral, and broke up the Cabal ministry. **Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby**, then became chief minister. He could not terminate the king’s alliance with France, but he tried to conciliate the nation by making peace with Holland, and by arranging a marriage between the Duke of York’s daughter **Mary** and the Dutch ruler, **William of Orange**. Shortly afterwards, however, some knowledge of the king’s dealings with France reached Parliament. The House of Commons turned with fury on Danby and impeached him. It refused to accept his excuse that he was only executing the king’s orders, and sent him to the Tower. It thus established the principle that a minister is responsible to the nation for his actions.

§ 351. **The Popish Plot.**—In 1678 an unscrupulous man called **Titus Oates** spread abroad a story of a supposed Popish plot to murder Charles, and to restore Roman Catholicism by means of a French army. The nation, in its alarm, forgot that, as the king was no enemy to

Roman Catholicism, the Roman Catholics were not likely to wish to murder him, and believed the whole tale. Whether the plot had ever any real foundation is unknown, but it is at least certain that many innocent persons were charged with having taken part in it and were unjustly condemned to death.

§ 352. **The Exclusion Bill.**—Fear of Roman Catholicism made many members of Parliament wish to exclude the king's heir, the Roman Catholic Duke of York, from the succession. To this end they introduced an **Exclusion Bill** into Parliament in 1679. About the same time an Act was brought in for the purpose of abolishing various devices by means of which the action of the *Habeas Corpus* writ had been delayed or evaded (cp. p. 140). Charles gave his consent to the **Habeas Corpus Act**, but this did not, as he had hoped, induce the Commons to drop the Exclusion Bill. He therefore dissolved Parliament and did not summon another for more than a year. The two next Parliaments also tried to pass the Exclusion Bill and were hastily dissolved.

§ 353. **Whigs and Tories.**—The opponents of the Exclusion Bill called its supporters **Whigs**, meaning to imply that they were rebels like a fanatical sect of Scottish Covenanters who were known by that name. The Whigs in turn called their opponents **Tories** after a band of Roman Catholic robbers in Ireland, thereby implying that they were hostile to Protestantism. These names were long recognised as party names. Many of the Whigs came to Charles' last Parliament attended by armed forces, but their unruly conduct did their cause more harm than good, for it awoke the slumbering dread of civil war.

§ 354. **The Royalist Reaction and the Rye House Plot.**—The result was a reaction in favour of Charles and

James. At the same time the Whig party was weakened by division. It could not agree as to whether the Princess Mary or the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., should be substituted for James. In 1683 some of the less important Whigs plotted to assassinate Charles and James at Rye House, near Broxbourne, on their way back from a race meeting at Newmarket. The plot was discovered. The actual conspirators escaped, but the most prominent Whig leaders—Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney—were accused of complicity and executed. Monmouth was exiled about the same time. Charles took advantage of the outburst of loyalty which followed the Rye House Plot to restore James to his post of Lord High Admiral, in defiance of the Test Act.

§ 355. **Strength of the King.**—Charles was by this time rich enough to govern without support. Louis XIV.—to prevent the substitution of Mary for James and the union of England and Holland—paid Charles £200,000 a year for three years on condition that he left Parliament unsummoned. At the same time the king was taking care to secure exclusively Tory Parliaments in the future by filling the corporations of the towns, which controlled the elections, with Tories. But he did not, as the law required, summon a new Parliament three years after the dissolution of his fifth. In 1685 he died, and on his death-bed received the ministrations of a Roman priest.

CHAPTER XIX.

James II., 1685-1688.

Born 1633 ; married (i) Anne Hyde 1660, (ii) Mary Beatrice d'Este of Modena 1673 ; "deserted" his English kingdom 1688 ; declared by an English Parliamentary Convention to have "abdicated" 1689 ; died 1701.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Spain. |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Louis XIV. (1643-1715) | Charles II. (1665-1700) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1685. Battle of Sedgemoor. | 1688. Second Declaration of In- |
| 1687. First Declaration of In- | dulgence. |
| dulgence. | 1688. Landing of Wm. of Orange. |
| 1689. Declaration of Right. | |

§ 356. **Character and Position of James II.**—When James II. ascended the throne the royalist reaction was not yet over. His first Parliament was strongly Tory. It granted him a large yearly income ; France promised him financial aid ; and he already possessed a standing army. He made a favourable impression, moreover, at the opening of his reign by pledging himself to preserve the existing government in Church and State. But he had the same obstinacy, the same self-confidence, and the same

lack of insight as his unfortunate father, and his character was to be his ruin. From the first he failed to realise that nine-tenths of the English people were ardently Protestant, and believed that he had only to supply the English nation with Romanist leaders to induce it to accept his own faith.

§ 357. **Rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth, 1685.**—The king's view of the situation was confirmed by the ease with which the rebellions of **Argyll** in Scotland and of **Monmouth** in England were repressed in his first year. Argyll's attempt was a failure from the beginning. He met a traitor's death at Edinburgh. But Monmouth received a certain amount of support. He landed at Lyme Regis in Dorset, and on his way to Taunton, where he assumed the title of king, the peasantry flocked in thousands to his support. At Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, he planned a night attack on the royal army. His troops were raw country lads, brave but lacking arms and discipline; the intended surprise failed, and the insurgents were easily overwhelmed and scattered by the king's army. Many were pursued and put to death immediately after the battle. **Monmouth** was captured in disguise a few days later and executed as a traitor.

§ 358. **The Bloody Assize.**—In the autumn Lord Jeffreys, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, went on circuit in the West to judge the rebels. He treated the prisoners with ferocious cruelty, he condemned the innocent as well as the guilty, and he spared neither age nor sex. He sentenced three hundred and twenty persons to be hanged and eight hundred and forty-one to be transported to the West Indies. His circuit richly deserved its name of the **Bloody Assize**. The king rewarded him by making him Lord Chancellor.

§ 359. **The Dispensing Power.**—Loyal as Parliament was, it refused to grant James subsidies unless the **Test Act** was strictly enforced. James, on the other hand, claiming that as king he had a right not only to pardon people convicted of a breach of the law, but also to give anyone leave to disobey the law, allowed Roman Catholics to hold office without exacting the religious declarations legally required from them. Like all the preceding Stuarts, he appealed to the judges to aid him in his evasions of the law.

§ 360. **Hales' Case.**—In 1686, after dismissing some judges and giving their places to others who were more likely to support him, he had Sir **Edward Hales**, a Roman Catholic, tried on the ground that he held a commission in the army contrary to the **Test Act**. The judges decided in **Hales' favour**, and James took advantage of this to fill his army with Roman Catholic officers. He also established a **Court of Ecclesiastical Commission**, not unlike that abolished in 1641, and in 1687 he felt strong enough to take still more extreme steps. He hoped to control London by means of an army which he had posted at Hounslow.

§ 361. **The First Declaration of Indulgence.**—The religious policy upon which James now embarked very quickly united all classes of his subjects against him. In 1687 he suspended the penal laws against both Catholics and Dissenters by a **Declaration of Indulgence**. He hoped thus to bribe Protestant Nonconformists into supporting his Romanist policy, but he soon found himself mistaken. His real object was too clearly revealed by an attempt which he made in the same year to force Roman Catholicism on the Universities. The **Court of Ecclesiastical Commission** ejected the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to accept either of the king's Roman Catholic nominees as their President.

§ 362. **The Trial of the Seven Bishops.**—In 1688 James issued a second **Declaration of Indulgence** and ordered it to be read in all the churches. His injunction was widely disobeyed. In some churches the Declaration was not read; in others it was read, but the congregations refused to listen. **William Sancroft**, the Primate, and six other bishops thereupon drew up a petition to the king praying to be excused from reading an illegal document in God's House. James ordered their prosecution for seditious libel. Their trial ended in acquittal, and the verdict was received with open joy, not only by the populace of London, but also by the army at Hounslow.

§ 363. **The Invitation to William of Orange.**—The birth of a son to James, two days after the arrest of the bishops, was the final blow to his cause. The Protestant majority in the nation had endured his rule only while there was a prospect of the speedy succession of his Protestant daughters. But when his heir was a Roman Catholic prince all hope of relief was gone. The public gladly believed a rumour that the baby was not the king's child, but had been smuggled into the Palace. It seemed to justify rebellion. **William of Orange**, the husband of James' elder daughter Mary, was thereupon invited by representatives of all parties to bring over an army for the protection of the Protestant liberties of England.

§ 364. **Flight of James.**—Because William wished to withdraw England from her alliance with France and to secure her support in his approaching struggle against the aggressive policy of Louis XIV., he accepted the invitation and landed at Torbay, in Devonshire. About a month later King James fled to France and removed the only serious obstacle from William's path. William, following the example of Monk, summoned a Convention to decide how he

could lawfully assume the government. Since he refused either to be Regent for James or Prince Consort to Mary, the Convention decided that James, having abdicated the government, had left the throne vacant, and that it was inconsistent with the national safety to be ruled by a Papist prince.

§ 365. **The Declaration of Right.**—The Convention then offered the Crown to William and Mary jointly. They accepted it and with it the **Declaration of Right**, a document which declared—

- (1) That the pretended Suspending Power and the pretended Dispensing Power were illegal.
- (2) That such Courts as the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission were illegal.
- (3) That levying money without grant of Parliament was illegal.
- (4) That it was the right of subjects to petition the king.
- (5) That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless with the consent of Parliament, was illegal.
- (6) That elections of Parliaments ought to be free.
- (7) That Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

BOOK VIII.

The Rise of Party Government, 1688-1754.

Introduction.

§ 366. **The Insecurity of the Protestant Succession.**—Though the acceptance of the Declaration of Right by William and Mary made them the acknowledged rulers of England, it was nearly three years before they also secured Scotland and Ireland; and it was nearly sixty years before all danger of a second Stuart restoration was at an end. During this period, therefore, the chief aim of British policy was to maintain the Protestant succession both at home and abroad.

§ 367. **Home and Foreign Policy of England.**—At home the necessity to maintain the Protestant succession led to the toleration of all Protestant forms of worship and it changed the relations of England with Scotland and Ireland. The majority of the Scots approved the Revolution; the majority of the Irish opposed it. Ireland was, therefore, kept more than ever in subjection to Great Britain; but Scotland was conciliated in order to induce the Scots to agree to a closer union. Abroad the Revolution threw the English into opposition to France, since the French king was the most powerful supporter of the Stuarts, and the quarrel developed into a world-wide struggle for colonies

and commerce. Throughout the contest the strength of England lay in her insular position and in her navy.

§ 368. **Constitutional Results of the Protestant Revolution.**—One of the immediate effects of the Protestant Revolution was a diminution of the powers of the Crown. Some were suppressed, and some limited by the **Bill of Rights**. Moreover, it became the regular practice of Parliament, after the Revolution, to grant money and the power to keep up a standing army for short periods only. This made frequent Parliaments necessary, and when Parliament, endowed with such powers, met constantly, the king soon found that he must also choose men acceptable to it as his ministers. The result was the gradual growth of those methods of keeping harmony between the ruler and the ruled which are now known as **Party Government** and the **Cabinet System**.

CHAPTER XX.

William and Mary, 1689-1702.

William and Mary were declared joint rulers of England, France, and Ireland in February 1689; of Scotland in May 1689. Mary was the eldest daughter of James, Duke of York—afterwards James II.—by his first wife, Anne Hyde: born 1662; married her cousin, William of Orange, 1677; died 1694. William was the son of William II., Prince of Orange, by Mary, elder daughter of Charles I. of England: born 1650; died 1702.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Spain. |
|------------------------|---|
| Louis XIV. (1643-1715) | Charles II. (1665-1700) (Last of the Spanish Hapsburgs) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1689. Toleration Act and Bill of Rights. | 1693. Battle of Landen. |
| 1690. Battles of Beachy Head and the Boyne. | 1694. Death of Mary. |
| 1691. Treaty of Limerick. | 1695. Recapture of Namur. |
| 1692. Massacre of Glencoe. | 1697. Peace of Ryswick. |
| 1692. Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk. | 1698. First Partition Treaty. |
| | 1701. Act of Settlement. |

§ 369. **The Revolution Settlement: Finance.**—The new king cared but little for his island kingdom except as an ally in his struggle against the power of France. But since he was willing to govern as a constitutional monarch

in England in order to obtain her support for his foreign aims, his rule conferred lasting benefits upon the nation. After William and Mary had accepted the Crown, the Convention undertook the work of settlement. It effected some important changes in finance. It obtained from William a promise to allow a Parliamentary audit, or examination, of the royal accounts; and in a few years' time it also became the custom for Parliament to declare each year how the money it voted should be spent—in other words, Parliament appropriated supplies.

§ 370. **The Mutiny Act.**—For the difficult question of a standing army Parliament found a wise solution. Such an army was necessary for the protection of England at a time when her neighbours on the Continent already possessed trained forces; but it was still to be dreaded as a possible instrument of arbitrary power. Parliament accordingly passed a **Mutiny Act**, authorising the Government, for six months only, to punish by martial law the insubordination or desertion of soldiers in the pay of the Crown. The Act was renewed when necessary and is still continued in the annual **Army Act**. By this means Parliament obtained an effectual check upon the king, for if it ceased to trust him, or had reason to believe that he intended to use the army against the liberties of the country, it could deprive him of his control over the troops by refusing to renew the Act.

§ 371. **The Toleration Act.**—Parliament tried to protect the new Government from treachery by requiring all office-holders in Church and State to take new oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Fresh penal laws were enacted against the Roman Catholics. But the Protestant Nonconformists were rewarded for their support of the Revolution by a **Toleration Act**, which permitted all

English Nonconformists—except Roman Catholics and Unitarians—to assemble for public worship on conditions designed to guard against possible conspiracy. Finally the **Declaration of Right** was made a statute in the form of the **Bill of Rights**.

§ 372. **The Battle of Killiecrankie.**—The majority of the Scots were favourably inclined to William and Mary, and the Scottish Convention offered them the crown in 1689. They accepted it and subsequently strengthened their position by agreeing to the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in the Scottish Kirk. Meanwhile the Highlanders, who did not like the Revolution because it restored the hated Campbells to power, rose on James' behalf. They were victorious in a fight at the Pass of **Killiecrankie**, but their leader, **Viscount Dundee**, was killed in the battle, and his death was a severe blow for the Stuart cause.

§ 373. **The Massacre of Glencoe.**—The Highland chiefs were soon reduced to submission and, with one fatal exception, they took the Oath of Allegiance required of them before the close of the year 1691. **Ian Macdonald** of Glencoe, putting off his submission to the latest possible moment, accidentally delayed too long. The king's ministers, not knowing that, though late, he had sworn allegiance, resolved to make him an example. His punishment was entrusted to the Campbells, who executed it with shameful treachery. Having claimed and enjoyed the hospitality of the Macdonalds for some days, they turned on their hosts and put them mercilessly to the sword.

§ 374. **Battle of the Boyne.**—The Irish Roman Catholics had nothing to hope from the new Government. Their resistance to William was therefore much more serious than that of the Scots. When James II. landed in

Ireland in 1689 the Protestants in Ulster took refuge in Londonderry and in Enniskillen, and were there besieged by the Roman Catholics. The siege of Londonderry is memorable for the courage and endurance shown by the besieged. After bearing every kind of privation with unbroken resolution they were relieved. On the same day (July 30th) the Protestants in Enniskillen sallied forth and won a decisive victory at **Newton Butler**. In 1690 William in person defeated James II. in the **Battle of the Boyne**, but the Irish still held out in Limerick and the West.

§ 375. **The Treaty of Limerick.**—William then left the completion of the conquest to Ginkel, a Dutch officer, and to John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, and returned to England. The English, in the meantime, had lost their command of the sea through the victory of the French over the English fleet under Herbert, Lord Torrington, off **Beachy Head**; and though Marlborough overran the south of Ireland the struggle was prolonged by the ease and safety with which the French could now send troops to the assistance of the Irish. But Limerick eventually fell in 1691. The campaign was closed by the **Treaty of Limerick**. It has been called the **Broken Treaty** because it contained promises of religious privileges for the Roman Catholics which were not kept.

§ 376. **War in the Southern Netherlands, 1691-1697.**—After the Battle of the Boyne, William felt himself free to lead the European armies against Louis XIV. He was no mean commander, but his task was a hard one, and he was hampered throughout by the half-hearted support of the English ministers and commanders. So long as they still thought that James might be restored many prominent Englishmen corresponded with the deposed king; and in 1692 William had to dismiss his most valued general,

Marlborough, for treachery. William rarely won a battle. He was unable to save **Mons**, he lost the battle of **Steinkirk**, and he failed to relieve **Namur**. But these defeats were more than counterbalanced by a great naval victory off **La Hogue**, which restored to the English their command of the sea. And on the whole William succeeded in keeping France in check.

§ 377. **New Financial Expedients.**—The expenses of the war being heavy and the Government short of money, **Charles Montague** (afterwards Earl of **Halifax**) and **Godolphin** invented two new methods of obtaining supplies. The **National Debt** dates from 1693, when the Government for the first time borrowed money on the promise of Parliament that it would pay interest on the loan. Formerly the creditors of the Government had had to trust to the promise of the king to repay the principal; and if the monarch were untrustworthy, or if he were deposed, the lenders lost their money. The **Bank of England** was founded in 1694, when a group of Whigs, in return for a loan, received a charter for its foundation. They became the chief financial agents of the Government, and the connection strengthened the credit of both parties.

§ 378. **Restoration of the Currency.**—Two years later the currency, which had been greatly depreciated since the time of Elizabeth, was restored. The Government had to give good coins for bad, but bore the loss for the sake of improved trade and prosperity. In 1694 a **Triennial Act** limited the duration of Parliament to three years. A little later William strengthened his position by choosing his ministers entirely from the particular party—at that time the Whig Party—which was in the majority in the House of Commons, and thus originated the system of Party Government.

§ 379. **The Death of Queen Mary, 1694.**—William was disliked for his cold manner and foreign birth, but **Mary's** tact and charm did much to smooth the work of his government while she lived. Unfortunately, however, she died of small-pox in 1694, and after her death William's unpopularity increased. Moreover, though he was descended from Charles I., his claim to the throne was not so good as that of his wife, which passed to her sister when she died. The years following the death of the Queen were consequently full of Jacobite intrigues. But in 1695 William gained a temporary popularity by his recapture of Namur, and in 1696 the discovery of Jacobite plots resulted in the formation of a **Loyal Association** for his protection (cp. p. 122).

§ 380. **Peace with France.**—William was, however, still far from popular, and even the satisfactory peace with which he closed his struggle against France in 1697 could not make him so. By the **Peace of Ryswick** Louis was forced to make terms with all his enemies, to give up the conquests which he had made since 1678, and to recognise the Protestant Succession in England. William, knowing that this peace was merely temporary, wished to prepare for another struggle, but was prevented by his Parliament. Regardless of his wish to keep the Army as a precaution against further war, Parliament, considering it both costly and dangerous to the Constitution, reduced it to 7000 men. Unpopular and thwarted in his dearest aims, it was little wonder that William was tempted to leave England for ever.

§ 381. **The Partition Treaties.**—Louis XIV. had made peace with the object of preparing for a still more important contest, which he knew to be at hand. The life of Charles II. of Spain was drawing to a close; and, as he

had no descendant, his death was certain to be followed by a dispute between his cousins, the Hapsburgs of Austria and the Bourbons of France, for the succession to the throne. To preserve the Balance of Power the leading statesmen in Europe were anxious to divide the Spanish dominions among the different candidates. Two attempts were made by the Netherlands, England, and France to arrange for a division by treaty.

§ 382. **Failure of the Partition Treaties.**—But when Charles II. died shortly afterwards, he left the whole of his possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the younger son of the Dauphin of France. King Louis XIV. at once threw over the **Second Partition Treaty**, by which it had been arranged that the greater part of the Spanish dominions was to go to the Archduke Charles of Austria, and accepted the King of Spain's will. William was compelled by Parliament to recognise the Bourbon as heir.

§ 383. **The Act of Settlement, 1701.**—The death in 1700 of the last of Princess Anne's children, the Duke of Gloucester, made it necessary to appoint a successor to William and Anne in 1701. Parliament provided, by an **Act of Settlement**, that Sophia, **Electress of Hanover**, should succeed as the next Protestant heir. The Act also required the possessor of the English Crown to be a member of the Church of England, and it established the very useful constitutional rule that judges were to hold office during good conduct, and might only be removed upon the address of both Houses of Parliament.

§ 384. **The Grand Alliance.**—The Tories then ventured on a more open antagonism to the king. But the attacks on William caused a revulsion of feeling in his favour, and Louis XIV. hastened the turn of the tide by acknowledging **James Francis Edward**, son of James II., later known as

the Old Pretender, as King of England on his father's death. The consequent indignation of the English gave William an opportunity of building up a **Grand Alliance** in support of the Austrian claimant against Philip V., the Bourbon possessor of the Spanish throne.

§ 385. **Death of William III.**—Before open hostilities could begin the indefatigable enemy of France was dead. His hold on life had always been feeble, and early in 1702 a broken collar-bone caused his death. His reign had given liberty to the English press; it had seen an important step towards party government, a great advance in the direction of religious freedom, and the first attempt to explore Australia. Finally, though William had not lived to see the aim of his life achieved, he had laid secure foundations for it when he built up the **Grand Alliance**, which was to break for ever the overwhelming power of Louis XIV. on the continent of Europe. The wise and silent king had worked with indomitable patience towards one distant end. He could not reach it, but he died within sight of his goal.

CHAPTER XXI.

Queen Anne, 1702-1714.

Younger daughter of James II. : born 1664 ; married George, second son of Frederick III., King of Denmark, 1683 ; died 1714.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Empire. | France. | Spain. | Russia. |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Joseph I. (1705) Charles VI. (1711) | Louis XIV. (1643-1715) | Philip V. (1700-1746) | Peter the Great (1689-1725) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1703. Methuen Treaty. | 1708. Battle of Oudenarde. |
| 1704. Battle of Blenheim. | 1709. Battle of Malplaquet. |
| 1704. Capture of Gibraltar. | 1711. Occasional Conformity Act. |
| 1706. Battle of Ramillies. | 1713. Treaty of Utrecht. |
| 1707. Act of Union. | 1714. Schism Act. |

§ 386. **Character of the Queen.**—Anne, younger daughter of James II., succeeded to the throne. She had inherited some of the faults of the Stuarts. But though obstinate she was not absolutely unyielding, and she was neither blind nor indifferent to the wishes of her people. She had a great love for her country, and strong personal affections. In the early part of her reign her attachment to Sarah,

the wife of John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, gave the Churchills a great influence over her policy. Marlborough, who had shown himself to be able but untrustworthy in the reign of William III. (cp. p. 179), used his power to further his aims with regard to the War of the Spanish Succession and, when it suited his purpose, to modify the Queen's aversion to the Whigs.

§ 387. **Views of the Queen.**—The reign began with a combined ministry of Whigs and Tories. Anne did not like to be compelled to choose her ministers from the party which was in the majority in Parliament. Believing that the Whigs, since they favoured the Dissenters, would endanger the Church, she personally preferred the Tories. She was genuinely devoted to the Anglican Church. She gave up her income from the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices to make it the nucleus of a fund—ever since known as **Queen Anne's Bounty**—for increasing small livings.

§ 388. **War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1708.**—The fear that Spain would practically be added to the dominions of Louis XIV. had bound many European states together in the **Grand Alliance**. The natural ally of England was the Netherlands. England was anxious to protect her Protestant succession, and to prevent France from excluding Englishmen from trade with Spanish America, while Holland had good reason to fear for its own independence if France should gain a firm hold on the Spanish Netherlands. The contest was fought out on the sea, in the Netherlands, on the Danube, in Italy, and in Spain. It began ill for the Grand Alliance. Marlborough, the English commander, was the greatest military genius of the time, but he was hampered by the jealousy and caution of his allies. He nevertheless conducted two successful campaigns

in the Netherlands. Admiral Benbow was, however, defeated in the West Indies, and elsewhere also the French gained successes.

§ 389. **Battles of Blenheim and Ramillies.**—In 1703 Savoy and Portugal were induced to join the Grand Alliance. In the meantime Louis was preparing to attack Vienna. But Marlborough unexpectedly marched south to intercept the French. He skilfully effected a junction with Prince Eugene of Savoy, brought the French to bay, and won an overwhelming victory at **Blenheim** on the Danube in 1704. In the same year Rooke captured **Gibraltar**, which proved to be a very important conquest. In 1705 the Allies took **Barcelona** and occupied Madrid. Marlborough won the battle of **Ramillies** in Brabant, Prince Eugene was victorious in Italy, and Naples and Milan were both captured in 1706. These losses induced Louis XIV. to offer to recognise the Archduke Charles as king of all the Spanish dominions except Naples and Milan; the Emperor and Marlborough however induced the Allies to refuse these terms.

§ 390. **Union between England and Scotland, 1707.**—Meanwhile England and Scotland had been brought to the verge of war by religious differences and by disagreements about the trade privileges of the English. The Scots had even compelled Anne to give them the right to choose her successor in Scotland without reference to the **Act of Settlement** for England. Happily the more moderate men on both sides brought about an agreement which led to a closer union between the two countries, and in 1707 the resulting **Act of Union** came into force. The two Parliaments were combined into a single British Parliament, in which Scotland was represented by forty-five members in the Commons and by sixteen Peers, elected for each

new Parliament, in the House of Lords. Each kingdom retained its established Church and its own law and law-courts, and the two countries were placed upon an equal footing in respect to trade.

§ 391. **Continuation of the War, 1707-1710.**—In the year 1707 the Allies were expelled from Madrid and defeated at **Almanza**. But in the following year they were again successful. Byng drove back the French fleet which was conveying the Old Pretender—"James III."—to Scotland, and Marlborough, supported by Prince Eugene, won a great victory at **Oudenarde**, and captured the French fortress of **Lille**. Once again Louis offered peace, but in vain. To obtain support for the war Marlborough and Godolphin had been compelled to form a purely **Whig** ministry, for the Tories thought that a further struggle was unnecessary and unwise, and the Whigs insisted that Louis should himself help to expel his grandson from Spain. The French king naturally refused these impossible terms and appealed to the national feeling of his people.

§ 392. **Last Stage of the War.**—His efforts produced an immediate effect. In 1709 Marlborough and Eugene could do nothing except capture such fortresses as **Tournay** and **Mons**, and win the disastrous battle of **Malplaquet**, in which the Allies, though victorious, lost 20,000 men, the French, though defeated, only half as many. In the meantime the Allies had been vanquished in Spain. Louis then proposed favourable terms. He still declined to fight against his grandson, but he offered the Allies money to aid them in expelling Philip V. from Spain. More than that could hardly be expected of him, and yet the Allies refused his offer as inadequate. In the following year Marlborough took **Douay**. The Archduke Charles

also gained some successes in Spain, but suffered a severe defeat at Brihuega in 1710.

§ 393. **Fall of the Whigs.**—Events in England were by this time hastening the close of the war. Robert Harley, one of the moderate Tories, had been skilfully undermining the Duchess of Marlborough's influence with Anne by substituting that of his relative, Mrs. Masham. In 1710, moreover, the Whigs made the mistake of impeaching Dr. Henry Sacheverell for a sermon against the Protestant Succession. This interference with the free expression of opinion made the Whigs unpopular, and Anne took advantage of this to dismiss them. She put a purely Tory ministry in their place. It included Harley (shortly afterwards created Earl of Oxford) and St. John (later Viscount Bolingbroke). Before the Tories had been in office a year Joseph I. died and was succeeded as Emperor by his brother the Archduke Charles of Austria.

§ 394. **The Tories in Power.**—To give the new Emperor Spain as well as the imperial dominions was clearly more dangerous than to leave a Bourbon in possession of the Spanish Crown, and the ministry accordingly began negotiations for a peace with France. At the close of the year 1711 they removed the chief obstacle to this by persuading the Queen to dismiss Marlborough from his offices. But as the House of Lords was mainly Whig, the Peace was still in danger of rejection. Queen Anne thereupon created twelve Tory Peers to outvote the Whigs.

§ 395. **Treaty of Utrecht.**—Peace was then concluded by the Treaty of Utrecht. Great Britain agreed to recognise Philip V. as King of Spain on condition that France would recognise the English Protestant Succession, that the French and Spanish crowns should never be united, and that Louis would allow the Spanish Netherlands

and the Italian dominions of Spain to be given to the Emperor, and Sicily to Savoy. France abandoned to Great Britain Acadie,¹ Newfoundland, and Rupertsland²; while Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca and certain trading privileges with the Spanish colonies in South America.

§ 396. **The Succession Question, 1711-1714.**—Meanwhile the Tories, being eager to extirpate dissent and to strengthen their own power, had passed two Acts against the Protestant Nonconformists. The **Occasional Conformity Act** inflicted heavy penalties on all who received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England merely for the purpose of qualifying for the public service (see § 343); while the **Schism Act** forbade people who were not Anglicans to keep schools. But the attention of the Tories was soon withdrawn from the Nonconformists by a more urgent issue. The ill-health of the Queen and the question of a successor were beginning to occupy all thoughts. The Tories, unluckily for themselves, were divided. One of their leaders, Oxford, was inclined to favour the Hanoverian Succession, while another—Bolingbroke—was a Jacobite.

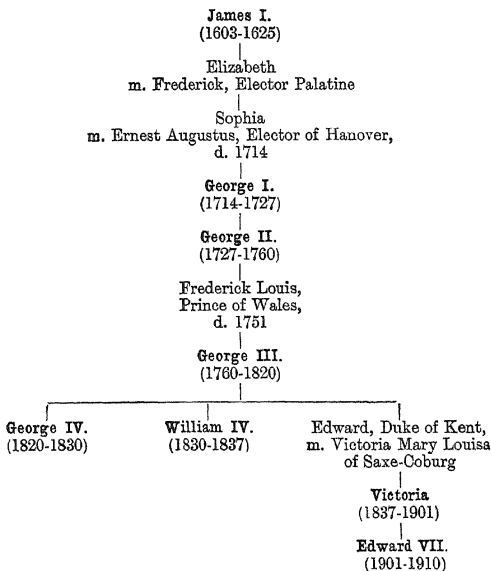
§ 397. **Death of Anne.**—Before Bolingbroke could take any decisive steps to secure his position, the Queen died. In international politics the history of her reign had been brilliant. England had taken a leading position in Europe, had won dazzling victories, and at the head of the Grand Alliance had broken the power of France. In domestic politics one great achievement, the **Act of Union** with Scotland, shed lustre on the reign. And as for Anne herself, her piety, her patriotism, and her sense of duty won her the love and the respect of her people. She was neither a brilliant nor

¹ Nova Scotia.

² Hudson Bay Territory.

a famous woman, but on the whole she deserved her title of "Good Queen Anne."

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.



CHAPTER XXII.

George I., 1714-1727.

Eldest son of Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Hanover, by his wife Sophia, granddaughter of James I. of England ; born 1660 ; married his cousin, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, 1682 ; succeeded his father as Elector of Hanover 1698 ; died 1727.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Empire. | France. | Spain. | Sweden. |
|-----------------------|---|---|------------------------|
| Charles VI. (1711) | Louis XIV. (1643-1715) Louis XV. (1715-74) | Philip V. (1700-46) Louis I. (1724-25) | Charles XII. (1697) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

1715. Jacobite Rising.
1716. Septennial Act.

1717. The Triple Alliance.
1720. South Sea Bubble.

§ 398. **Character and Position of the new King, 1714.**—The new king was the grandson of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I., wife of the Elector Palatine, whose wars James had reluctantly supported in 1620. The English did not like their foreign king. He could not speak English, and was generally commonplace and uninteresting. England never appreciated at their true value his honesty, his commonsense, his business ability and

insight into character. But George had the support of the able, wealthy, and energetic Whig party, and the Whigs played their cards well throughout. Before George's accession they had made the country believe that all his opponents were Roman Catholics; they now, to keep themselves in power, persuaded the king that all Tories were Jacobites.

§ 399. **The Whigs and the Riot Act, 1715.**—George accordingly chose his ministers from among the Whigs. The most important members of the party were the Secretaries of State, Viscount Townshend and James Stanhope. Room was also found for Sunderland and Walpole. The first act of the new ministry was to impeach the leading members of the previous administration for their peace negotiations, and for their alleged attempt "to bring in the Pretender." Bolingbroke left the country and was attainted in his absence. Oxford remained and was ultimately acquitted. In the meantime serious Jacobite disturbances compelled the Whigs to pass a **Riot Act**. This Act made it felony for a crowd (twelve persons or more) to remain together for more than an hour after a magistrate had ordered them to disperse.

§ 400. **"The Fifteen," 1715.**—Immediately after the death of Anne a well-organised Jacobite rising might have been successful. The rising, known—from the year in which it took place—as "the Fifteen," came too late. It was also ill-organised. The Earl of Mar raised the Stuart standard at Braemar, rallied most of the Highland clans round him, and sent a detachment to aid the rebels of Northumberland and the Lowlands. The latter army marched south, but was compelled to surrender at Preston. On the same day Mar fought an indecisive battle with Argyll at Sheriffmuir.

§ 401. **The Septennial Act.**—"James III." landed when the fighting was over, and soon returned to France. Many rebels were executed, and some of the Highlanders were disarmed. In order to make the task of controlling the Highland clans easy for the future, the Government constructed forts and roads in the Highlands. But the most important result of the Jacobite rising was the passing of the **Septennial Act**. In accordance with the provisions of the **Third Triennial Act** of 1694 the elections for a new Parliament were due in the following spring. The Government, however, felt that the Hanoverian succession would not be safe if the elections were to take place while the country was still unsettled. They therefore passed a law enabling Parliament to sit for seven years instead of only three.

§ 402. **Foreign Policy of the Reign.**—To maintain the Treaty of Utrecht was the chief aim of English foreign policy during this reign. Philip V. of Spain, on the other hand, was determined to recover the Spanish dominions in Italy, and he secured the aid of the King of Sweden. To the alliance of Sweden and Spain was opposed a **Triple Alliance** between Great Britain, Holland, and France. The death of Louis XIV. and the minority of Louis XV. had left the Regent of France, the Duke of Orleans, the next heir to the French throne after Philip V., whose succession was barred by the Treaty of Utrecht. To exclude Philip by maintaining the Treaty was even more important to him than to Britain and Holland. Hence the unexpected union of such old enemies as England and France.

§ 403. **Division of the Whig Party.**—The Whig party was divided on the question of foreign policy. Stanhope and Sunderland believed that a warlike foreign policy was the best security for the Protestant Succession in England. Townshend and his brother-in-law, Walpole, believed in

the maintenance of peace and the development of commerce. Townshend and Walpole had to resign because they would not support Stanhope's foreign policy, and their resignation marks another advance in the development of party government. It was no longer enough that the ministers should belong to one party: it was now also necessary that their aims should be the same.

§ 404. **Restoration of Peace.**—In 1717 Spanish forces occupied Sardinia and began to attack Sicily. But the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng off Cape Passaro in 1718 cut their success short. In the same year Spain lost her only ally, Sweden, by the death of Charles XII., and the Emperor joined the Triple Alliance, which thus became a **Quadruple Alliance**. Spain thereupon agreed to make peace, and Philip V. acknowledged the Protestant Succession in England and the partition of the Spanish dominions sanctioned by the Treaty of Utrecht.

§ 405. **Home Policy.**—The Whigs repealed the **Occasional Conformity Act** and the **Schism Act**, for the benefit of their faithful supporters, the Dissenters, but they were less successful with other measures. One measure was not merely a failure: it was disastrous. The Government, hoping to increase its revenue, sold the **National Debt** to a company called the **South Sea Company**, which had been formed for the purpose of trading in South America. The speculations of the South Sea Company led to other speculations even more reckless, and so many people were ruined that the Government had to face a serious financial crisis. Necessity compelled them to call in Walpole to restore the national credit.

§ 406. **Close of the Reign.**—The bursting of the South Sea Bubble ruined the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry altogether. It was replaced by the rival branch of the

Whig party. Walpole was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, with Townshend and Carteret as Secretaries of State. George I. had always recognised the talent of Walpole and given him a well-deserved confidence. In 1727 the king died. Far from admirable in his private life, he yet deserves respect for his straightforwardness of character, his personal courage, and his conscientious performance of his public duties.

CHAPTER XXIII.

George II., 1727-1754.

Born 1683; married Caroline Wilhelmina of Anspach 1705; died 1760.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| Empire. | Prussia. | France. | Spain. |
|---|---|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Charles VI. (1711-40) Charles VII. <i>Wittelsbach</i> (1742-5) Francis I. (1745-65) | Frederick William I. (1713) Frederick II. <i>the Great</i> (1740-1786) | Louis XV. (1715-1774) | Philip V. (1700) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1737. Death of Queen Caroline. | 1745. Battle of Fontenoy. |
| 1739-48. War of Jenkin's Ear. | 1745. Battle of Prestonpans. |
| 1740-43. War of Austrian Succession. | 1746. Battle of Culloden Moor. |
| 1742. Resignation of Walpole. | 1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. |
| 1743. Battle of Dettingen. | 1751. Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales. |
| 1744. War with France. | 1751. Calendar Act. |

§ 407. **Peace Policy of Walpole.**—George II. had always opposed his father's policy. The enemies of Walpole confidently expected therefore that his downfall would follow the accession of the new king. But as George II. could find no satisfactory substitute, he took the advice of his

wife and kept Walpole in office. Walpole's policy was entirely governed by his "passion for peace." His favourite motto was "Let sleeping dogs lie." Thus instead of provoking a storm of opposition by trying to get the **Test and Corporation Acts** repealed, he allowed the Dissenters to hold office in spite of the law, and every year quietly passed an Act to relieve them from the penalties to which they had made themselves liable.

§ 408. **The Excise Bill.**—Walpole was at his best as a finance minister. He restored confidence and order after the bursting of the South Sea Bubble; and to encourage the import of raw materials and the export of manufactured goods, he rearranged the customs duties. But the greatest of his financial schemes failed. He proposed, by means of an **Excise Bill**, to levy taxes on wine and tobacco as an **excise**, collected when the goods were about to be sold, instead of as **customs**, collected when they were imported. An excise would have been less costly for the Government to collect than the customs, and would have checked smuggling. But the Opposition excited so loud an outcry against this measure that Walpole withdrew it rather than, as he said, "raise taxes at the price of blood."

§ 409. **Foreign Policy of Walpole.**—Soon after the accession of George II. a change took place in European politics. A son was born to the King of France, Philip of Spain ceased to be heir to the French throne, and the jealousies of the two branches of the House of Bourbon came to an end. In 1733, to Walpole's great alarm, France and Spain formed a close alliance. This "Family Compact," as it was called, threatened Great Britain, then drifting into war with Spain. The English traders, in spite of a provision in the Treaty of Utrecht which

allowed them to send one ship only each year to Spanish America, persisted in smuggling goods into that country. The smugglers, when caught, were cruelly treated by the Spaniards, and the English clamoured for revenge.

§ 410. **The War of Jenkin's Ear.**—One trader, called Jenkin, by declaring that the Spaniards had cut off his ear, and that he had, thereupon, "commended his cause to his country," raised the public desire for war to fever heat. Walpole gave way, and war was declared in 1739. It lasted for nearly nine years, but nothing decisive was done. Meanwhile, after the death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, a contest over the succession to his dominions broke out between his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, and the Elector of Bavaria. The Elector received money from France, and troops from Spain and Prussia. Walpole allowed Great Britain to help Maria Theresa with money, but refused to take any active part in the war. His policy was opposed by an energetic war party, and in 1742 he was driven from office.

§ 411. **Walpole, the First Prime Minister.**—Walpole was accused of bribery and corruption, and blamed for the failure of the Spanish war. It was believed that because he disapproved of the war he did not try to make it a success. But the failure was due to his lack of skill as a war minister rather than to want of effort, and his methods were not more corrupt than those of his successors. He was, however, to blame for not resigning at once, instead of conducting a war of which he disapproved. Walpole was the first minister to be called Prime Minister, but his resignation did not involve, as a Prime Minister's resignation does to-day, the resignation of the entire ministry. Most of the other ministers remained in office,

and Lord Carteret, as Secretary of State, became the most important member of the administration.

§ 412. **Fall of Carteret.**—Carteret did all he could to help Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary. By giving her money he enabled her to carry on war successfully against her rival, who had been elected Emperor (Charles VII.) in 1742. In 1743 George II. in person led an army of British and Hanoverian troops southwards and at **Dettin-gen-on-Main** won a victory over the French. But Carteret's policy was neither understood nor appreciated. He was accused of serving Hanover only, and was driven from office by his rivals, the two **Pelhams**—Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, and his brother Henry. Meanwhile France had declared war on Britain. The Pelhams, who chose to fight the French in the Southern Netherlands rather than in Germany, were far from successful. The British and their allies lost the Battle of **Fontenoy**, and shortly afterwards the British troops had to be withdrawn from the Continent to meet a danger nearer home.

§ 413. **"The Forty-Five."**—The Jacobite insurrection which Walpole had feared as the result of a war with the continental powers had come to pass. **Charles Edward**, "the Young Pretender," landed on the west coast of Scotland in 1745. He came without French aid, trusting to his own daring and to his personal attractions. He gathered the principal Highland chieftains round him, moved rapidly south, occupied Perth and Edinburgh, and won a victory at **Prestonpans**. He then invaded England and marched to Derby. But he received no support from the English Jacobites and was obliged to retreat. On his way back to Scotland he was successful in two skirmishes, but when he met the English general, Cumberland, on **Culloden Moor** near Inverness his forces, which had seriously

diminished, suffered a severe defeat. After hair-breadth escapes and adventurous wanderings, Charles was at length enabled by the loyalty of the clans to reach France safely. The insurrection was punished by the English Government with great severity.

§ 414. **George II. and William Pitt.**—In the meantime a difference had arisen between the king and Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister. The Pelhams wished to introduce a young and brilliant statesman called **William Pitt** into the ministry. George disliked him and refused to accept him. To force the king's hand both Pelhams resigned. George, thereupon, invited the Earl of Bath, and Carteret (now Lord Granville) to form an administration. But they could get few men to join them, and within three days the Pelhams returned to power bringing Pitt with them. In March 1754 Henry Pelham died, and the Duke of Newcastle became Prime Minister.

§ 415. **Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.**—In 1745 the question of the Austrian succession was decided by the accession of Maria Theresa's husband to the Imperial throne on the death of Charles VII. But the war of France and Spain against Great Britain and Austria still continued. The French were generally victorious on land, and the British at sea. France secured the Austrian Netherlands, while the British severely damaged one French fleet off Cape Finisterre and another off Belleisle. The contest was finally brought to a close by the Peace of **Aix-la-Chapelle**. It was arranged that Great Britain and France should abandon their respective conquests in the Netherlands, in North America, and in India.

§ 416. **The Calendar Act.**—The Pelham ministry earned the distinction of passing the **Calendar Act**, which substituted the Gregorian for the Julian Calendar, by which the

English had hitherto calculated. As the Julian Calendar had allowed for a leap year every four years—which is slightly too often—an error of eleven days had accumulated. This error had been rectified for the rest of Europe by Pope Gregory XIII. as early as 1582, but because the correction had been made by the Pope the English had refused to accept it. In 1751, however, they brought their reckoning up to date by counting the day which in the “Old Style” would have been September 3, 1752, as September 14.

BOOK IX.

The Making and Remaking of Empire, 1754-1793.

Introduction.

§ 417. **Colonial Interest of Ensuing Period.**—During the first half of the eighteenth century the internal and constitutional history of Great Britain and Ireland was more important than its foreign or its colonial history. But the interest of the latter half of the century is international and imperial rather than domestic. When Henry Pelham died Great Britain was nominally at peace. But, as a matter of fact, private wars, which were to form part of a struggle involving all the great Powers of Europe, were going on in North America and in India. **The Seven Years' War**, as this contest was called, was more decisive in result than the War of the Austrian Succession. The difference was largely due to the combined policy of **William Pitt** and **Frederick II. of Prussia**, both of whom were clear-sighted, able, and determined men.

§ 418. **The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.**—In the Seven Years' War Great Britain was allied with Prussia against France. The war had two centres of interest. On the Continent, Frederick was fighting against Austria and her allies, with a view to extending the dominions of Prussia.

At sea and in **North America** and **India**, Britain and France were contending for colonial and maritime supremacy. France chose to devote her chief energies to the continental war, with the result that her colonial possessions in North America fell into the hands of Great Britain.

§ 419. **George III.'s Constitutional Experiments, 1760-1770.**—During the course of the Seven Years' War George II. died and was succeeded by his grandson, **George III.** The new king wanted to restore the monarchy to the powerful position which he believed to be its right, but he overlooked the chief duty of a king—good government. He spent the first ten years of his reign in seeking for a minister who would subordinate himself to the Royal will, and in the course of his search sacrificed many of the gains made in the Seven Years' War, and stooped to the corrupt political methods of his rivals, the heads of the Whig Oligarchy. With the establishment of **Lord North** as chief minister, in 1770, his object was attained.

§ 420. **The American Revolution, 1765-1783.**—North's long ministry saw the disastrous war of the **American Revolution**. A series of attempts to tax the American Colonists was met by protests, by riots, and finally by an armed resistance. The Colonists, ignoring their mutual jealousies for the time being, united in declaring themselves independent (1776), and were so successful at Saratoga that France and Spain thought it safe to enter into an alliance with them. In 1781 their independence was practically secured by a decisive victory at Yorktown. The American Revolution brought about the fall of Lord North and the temporary overthrow of George III.'s policy; it also gave the **Irish Parliament** a chance of asserting its legislative independence of the Parliament of Great Britain.

§ 421. **Pitt's Years of Peace, 1783-1793.**—The success of the American Revolution reduced the fortunes of Great Britain to their lowest ebb. But France and Spain were even more exhausted by the struggle than their enemy. Great Britain, moreover, made a more rapid recovery than her continental rivals. Towards the end of the century a revolution in the methods of industry greatly increased her material resources; and Pitt, in the ten years of peace which followed the American Revolution, made the most of these resources. He restored national credit, and achieved a number of important reforms. In short he made Great Britain strong enough to bear the strain of the war which followed the outbreak of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Seven Years' War and George III.'s Constitutional Experiments, 1756-1770.

George II. : see Previous Chapter.

George III., eldest son of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales : born 1738 ; married Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz 1761 ; died 1820.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS (TO 1789).

| Empire. | Prussia. | France. | Spain. |
|--|--|--|--|
| Francois I. (1745) Joseph II. (1765-1790) | Frederick II. (1740) Frederick William II. (1786-1797) | Louis XV. (1715) Louis XVI. (1774-1792) | Charles III. (1759) Charles IV. (1788-1808) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1756. Beginning of the Seven Years' War. | 1762. War with Spain. |
| 1757. Battle of Plassey. | 1763. Peace of Paris. |
| 1759. Battles of Minden, Lagos, Quebec, and Quiberon Bay. | 1765. Stamp Act. |
| 1760. Battle of Wandiwash. | 1766. Stamp Act repealed. |
| | 1767. American Import Duties. |
| | 1770. Lord North made Prime Minister. |

The Seven Years' War.

§ 422. **European Rivalry in India, 1600-1757.**—During the seventeenth century Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French merchant companies had all obtained a foothold in

India for purposes of trade, and there had been much competition between the four nations. English traders had suffered also from the competition of their own countrymen until the rival firms were combined to form the united **East India Company** (1708). The Company possessed small territories at **Madras** and at **Bombay**, and factories or trading stations at **Calcutta** and other places. The French had stations at **Mahé**, **Pondicherry**, and **Chandernagore**.

§ 423. **Contest between the French and British in India.**—During the War of the Austrian Succession (see § 410) **Dupleix**, the Governor of **Pondicherry**, resolved to expel the British merchants, and to establish the French Company as a political power in India. The opportunity was favourable. The last of the great line of **Mogul Emperors** had died in 1707, and since his death the smaller states in the **Deccan** had become practically independent. **Dupleix**, therefore, expected no serious or united resistance from them. Aided by a French fleet, he succeeded in capturing **Madras**. He then used his influence to settle disputed successions among the native princes. Thereupon the British in India, alarmed by the growing power of the French, determined to interfere. **Robert Clive**, a young clerk in the service of the **East India Company**, surprised **Arcot** in 1751. His successful defence of the town marks the beginning of British supremacy in India.

§ 424. **Victory of Clive at Plassey.**—Four years' desultory fighting followed. The Companies were then compelled by their Home Governments to make peace, and to promise not to take part in the quarrels of the native princes. But before long the British were involved in a fresh contest. The **Nawáb of Bengal** picked a quarrel with the British merchants in his dominions, captured

Calcutta, and imprisoned 146 captives in a small room, ever since known as the **Black Hole of Calcutta**. Want of air killed 123 of his prisoners in a single night. The **Madras Government** sent **Clive** to avenge the victims. The **Nawáb** was defeated in a battle at **Plassey**, deposed, and supplanted by a **Nawáb** chosen by the Company. This victory increased the strength of the English for the next contest with the French.

§ 425. **Settlements of England and France in North America, 1600-1750.**—During the early part of the seventeenth century English colonies had been established in **New England** (**Massachusetts**, **Connecticut**, and **Rhode Island**), and further south in **Virginia** and **Maryland**; Dutch colonists settled in the **Hudson valley**; and French in the **St. Lawrence valley** (**Canada** and **Acadie**). During the reign of **Charles II.** the **Carolinas** had been founded, and the Dutch possessions between **New England** and **Virginia** had been captured by the English and formed into the colonies of **New York**, **New Jersey**, and **Pennsylvania**. Towards the close of the seventeenth century French explorers had re-discovered the **Mississippi**, and established at its mouth a colony named **Louisiana**, in honour of **Louis XIV.** At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English had acquired the larger part of **Nova Scotia** at the expense of France, and **Georgia** at the expense of Spain.

§ 426. **Rivalry of France and Britain in North America.**—The original colonies and acquired possessions of the English all lay on the coast. France claimed the interior and, about 1750, began to build forts in the **Ohio Valley** to connect **Louisiana** and **Canada**. The British colonists were alarmed by these attempts to shut them in between the **Alleghanies** and the sea; and **George**

Washington, a young Virginian, attempted to seize a French fort on the River Ohio. The British Government, thereupon, sent out General Braddock, who was defeated and slain in making a similar attempt; and by sending a British admiral to intercept French reinforcements for Canada brought the colonial rivalry of the two nations to the verge of open war.

§ 427. **Opening of the Seven Years' War, 1756.**—In Germany also war was imminent. George II., fearing a French attack on Hanover, had formed various treaties with German princes, and with Prussia, for its defence. Maria Theresa of Austria, wishing to wrest Silesia from Frederick the Great, thereupon allied herself with Louis XV. against him, and thus began the war which is known as the Seven Years' War. It was fought mainly in and about the dominions of the King of Prussia, in North America, in India, and at sea. In Europe Frederick the Great held out against overwhelming odds, being attacked at once by Austria, Russia, France, Saxony and Sweden. Outside Europe the contest lay between France and Britain.

§ 428. **Course of the War.**—The European struggle was valued by the British only because it helped to divert the attention of France from America and Asia until they had hopelessly defeated her in those regions. At first Britain, being ill-prepared for war, fared badly, and Minorca was captured by the French. Newcastle resigned and was replaced by the Duke of Devonshire and **William Pitt**. But it was not until Newcastle and Pitt went into partnership that matters began to improve. Even then the ill-fortune of Great Britain continued for some months. In America the French took Fort William Henry. In Germany the Duke of Cumberland was defeated by the armies of France and compelled to promise to evacuate Hanover.

§ 429. **Success of Great Britain and Prussia.**—But Pitt refused to be bound by this promise. He induced Parliament to give Prussia a large subsidy, and he secured a competent commander from Frederick in the person of **Ferdinand of Brunswick**. In 1758 and 1759 the British and their allies were almost uniformly successful. In Europe Ferdinand, by winning the Battle of **Minden**, swept the French out of Hanover; crushing defeats, too, were inflicted on the French fleets off Lagos in Portugal and off Quiberon. In Canada Wolfe, after three months of vain effort, took **Quebec**. He climbed the almost impregnable Heights of Abraham in the night, and taking the French by surprise, defeated them when morning came in a battle which made the surrender inevitable. He died at the moment of victory. The British conquest of Canada was completed a year later by the surrender of Montreal.

§ 430. **Contest in India.**—Meanwhile the French had been successful in India. But in 1759 they failed to take **Madras**, which was relieved by the British fleet. In 1760 the French were defeated in the decisive battle of **Wandiwash**. Next year **Pondicherry** fell into the hands of the British, and the possibility of French ascendancy in India was at an end. In Europe, however, the alliance between France and Spain was renewed, and Pitt saw in this compact a fresh menace to Britain. He wished to forestall possible Spanish attacks on Great Britain by an attack on Spain; but he was defeated in the Cabinet and resigned his post.

§ 431. **Accession of George III. and consequent Change of Policy.**—Pitt's defeat was a direct consequence of the death of the king. **George II.** died in 1760, and **George III.**, being eager to bring the war to a close, introduced his former tutor, the **Marquis of Bute**, into the ministry. Bute not only opposed Pitt's proposals for war with Spain, but also

ceased to subsidise Frederick the Great, who was almost ruined by the desertion of Great Britain. At this juncture Spain entered the contest, but too late to change its course. In 1762 the British fleets captured all the remaining French islands in the **West Indies** and the Spanish towns of Havana and Manilla.

§ 432. **Peace of Paris.**—The allied Bourbons were helpless against the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, and all the Powers were weary of war. Austria and Prussia came to an agreement, and France, Spain, and England terminated their contest by the **Peace of Paris**. France was compelled to cede to Great Britain Canada and Eastern Louisiana; while Spain was obliged to give up **Florida**. To France Great Britain restored all her former possessions in India on condition that they were not to be fortified; to Spain she returned the islands of Cuba and the Philippines.

§ 433. **Character of the Reign.**—The reign of George II. was constitutionally most important, for with the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion of “Forty-Five” the Protestant Succession was secured and Parliamentary government finally established in England. The age of Walpole had been an age of moral stagnation in Church and State, but it was followed by the religious revival known as Methodism, under John and Charles Wesley, and a patriotic revival under Pitt.

In the politics of the reign the king himself played but a small part. He had little force of character and he was never popular with his English subjects. His ungracious manners, his broken English, and his open preference for Hanover made it impossible for them to look on him as an English king; and even his personal courage and unfailing sincerity could not win him their respect.

George III., 1760-1820.

CONTEST BETWEEN THE KING AND THE WHIG PARTY.

§ 434. **Character and Policy of George III.**—The death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1751, had left his son George heir to the throne. The new king was British by birth and by education. He was upright, pious, strictly moral, and to a certain extent able. But he was also exceedingly prejudiced and obstinate. His mother and his tutor, the Marquis of Bute, had constantly impressed upon him that it was his duty “to be a king”; and he consequently hoped to overthrow the **Whig Party**, to choose his own ministers, and to dictate his own policy.

§ 435. **The Administration of Bute.**—The history of the first ten years of the reign of George III. is a history of his attempt to put down the **Whigs**. With the assistance of Bute he broke up the administration of Newcastle and Pitt. By giving offices in return for support he then built up a party of his own, drawn mainly from the Tories, but including some Whigs. Its members came to be known as “the king’s friends.” The administration of Bute did not, however, last long. He had granted the enemy easy terms in the Peace of Paris in order to be free to make changes at home, and he found himself so unpopular in consequence that he hastily resigned in 1763.

§ 436. **John Wilkes.**—At the same time the prestige of the Government was injured by its attempt to punish one of its most outspoken critics, John Wilkes, the editor of a paper called the *North Briton*. The author, printers, and publishers of the paper were all arrested under a general warrant (*i.e.* a warrant in which no names are mentioned). John Wilkes was, however, set at liberty by the judges on the ground that his privilege as a member of Parliament

protected him from arrest. This incident strengthened a public suspicion that the king and the Parliament were conspiring against the "Rights of the People."

§ 437. **Grenville's Ministry.**—George Grenville succeeded Bute as the head of the Government. His administration is noteworthy for the passing of the **Stamp Act** (§ 441), which brought about the **American Revolution**. He shared the ideas of George as to the relations which should exist between ruler and ruled, but he was not prepared to be quite so subservient as the king desired. A Regency Bill which he brought forward in 1765, after the king had suffered from a temporary attack of insanity, gave George particular offence because it excluded his mother from the Regency. The king therefore dismissed Grenville and put the Whig leader, Rockingham, in his place.

§ 438. **Administration of Rockingham and Pitt.**—The Rockingham administration is chiefly important for the repeal of the Stamp Act and the introduction of an able young Irishman, **Edmund Burke**, to politics. The king weakened his ministers by secret opposition throughout their term of office, and finally dismissed them. He then called in Pitt, now Earl of Chatham. But ill-health was already undermining Pitt's powers, and during his absence through illness the Government rashly carried a fresh Bill for the taxation of the American Colonies. In 1768 Pitt retired and left the government in the hands of the Duke of Grafton.

§ 439. **The Grafton Ministry.**—The new administration was attacked in the famous letters of a mysterious writer who called himself "**Junius**," and by a more temperate criticism from Burke. It was finally discredited by a contest with **Wilkes**, who had been returned as a member for Middlesex in 1768. He was elected three times, and each

time rejected by the House of Commons as ineligible because of previous convictions for unlawful publications. The excitement throughout the country was intense. George took part with his ministers against Wilkes, but he thwarted them in every other respect. In 1770, therefore, Grafton resigned. He was succeeded by Lord North, and the victory of George over the Whig party was then complete.

CHAPTER XXV.

The American Revolution and the Younger Pitt's Years of Peace, 1765-1793.

Personal History and Contemporary Rulers: see Previous Chapter.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1775. Beginning of the American War. | 1778. French Alliance with America. |
| 1775. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill. | 1781. Capitulation of Yorktown. |
| 1776. Declaration of Independence. | 1783. Peace of Paris. |
| 1777. Capitulation of Saratoga. | 1788. Pitt's Triple Alliance. |

§ 440. **Policy of North, 1770-1782.**—Lord North used his skill in the management of Parliament for the sole purpose of carrying out the king's policy. He thereby won the entire favour of George III., and, with the support of the royal "influence," was enabled to remain in office twelve years. He was neither a particularly able nor a successful man. Indeed the last years of his administration form one of the darkest periods in our annals. In 1770 an important step was taken. The House of Commons arrested a City of London liveryman called Miller for publishing its debates. Miller appealed to the Lord Mayor, who aided by Wilkes as alderman lent him such efficient help that the House gave in. It thenceforth became possible and finally customary for the public to know all that went on in Parliament.

§ 441. **The American Colonies and Imperial Taxation, 1765-1774.**—The relations of the American Colonies with the Mother Country were undefined. They had been founded for the most part by private enterprise, and Great Britain took little interest in them. She valued them chiefly as markets for English manufactures or as sources of produce which could not be grown at home. Grenville had passed the **Stamp Act**, which required the Americans to pay fees for the stamping of certain kinds of documents in order to relieve the Home Government of some part of the cost of the Seven Years' War. The proceeds of the tax were to be used for the defence of the colonies. The tax was not unjust, but the Colonists were nevertheless constitutionally in the right when they objected to the imposition of taxes by a Parliament in which they were not represented.

§ 442. **Increasing Opposition in America.**—Rockingham had lulled the storm for a time by his repeal of the **Stamp Act**. But the import duties which were imposed by Chatham's ministry during his illness caused fresh discontent. When North came into office he abolished all the duties except that on tea, but his attitude was not conciliatory. In December 1773, therefore, some citizens of Massachusetts boarded the tea-ships lying in Boston harbour and emptied a number of tea-chests into the sea. The British Government unwisely attempted repressive measures.

§ 443. **Outbreak of the American Revolution.**—These measures were met by fresh preparations for resistance in America. All the colonies, except Georgia, sent representatives to a Congress at Philadelphia. The Congress firmly maintained that the British Government had no right to tax the Colonies without their own consent.

Its attitude induced the Home Government to unbend a little. But before the news of this had reached America the war of independence had actually begun with a skirmish at Lexington, near Boston.

§ 444. **Battle of Bunker's Hill.**—Two months later the insurgents occupied a height commanding Boston from the north. They were expelled after a long day's struggle known as the Battle of Bunker's Hill. In the autumn of 1775 the rebels took Montreal, but failed to take Quebec, and Canada consequently took no part in the revolution. Early in the following year Washington, the greatest of the American leaders, took the field. He had delayed until then in order to discipline his ragged troops. He now compelled Sir William Howe to evacuate Boston. Shortly afterwards Howe was reinforced by troops consisting for the most part of Germans hired to serve under the British flag.

§ 445. **The Declaration of Independence.**—The American Congress, infuriated by this use of foreign mercenaries, issued a Declaration of Independence in 1776. The action of the revolutionists was approved by the Whigs in Great Britain—notably by Chatham, Burke, and Charles James Fox. In 1777 the British hoped to win a decisive victory by a combination of forces. Sir John Burgoyne and other commanders, marching from Canada by various routes, planned to effect a junction with a force under General Howe. But Howe, who had occupied New York in 1776, was intent on occupying Philadelphia; and Burgoyne, advancing southwards without his support, was surrounded and compelled to surrender at Saratoga.

§ 446. **Foreign Intervention, 1778.**—All hope of reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies expired with Chatham, who, while pleading for it in the House

of Lords in 1778, was seized with a fatal illness and carried home to die. The Americans would nevertheless hardly have secured their independence without foreign aid. After the surrender of Burgoyne the French made an open alliance with the Colonies. War broke out in consequence between France and Great Britain; and, in 1779, Spain joined France. Both the Bourbon Powers were anxious to avenge their losses in the Seven Years' War, but the intervention of France did not at first make any perceptible difference in the fortunes of the war.

§ 447. **Defeat of Great Britain.**—In 1778 the British only just held their own in a fight off Ushant. In the following year the French and Spanish fleets swept the Channel unopposed, and Spain began her most determined attempt to recover Gibraltar. But in 1780 Rodney defeated a Spanish fleet off St. Vincent and relieved Gibraltar, and Lord Cornwallis appeared to be turning the tide of war in America. Next year, however, the war across the Atlantic was finally ended by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

§ 448. **The History of India, 1760-1784.**—Meanwhile disputes had taken place in India between British officials and native rulers. Clive came to the conclusion that these quarrels could be avoided only if the Company took a greater share of power. At the same time he tried to put a check on the rapacity of the British officials by obtaining larger salaries for them, and by forbidding them to receive gifts from the natives. When he returned to England the House of Commons, after listening to attacks on his honesty, formally declared that he "had rendered meritorious services to his country."

§ 449. **The Maráthá and Mysore Wars.**—But still the East India Company got into debt, and, through the greed

of its officials, acquired an evil reputation. Accordingly in 1773 North passed a **Regulating Act**, appointing a Governor-General to supervise all the British officials in India. The first Governor-General appointed under the Act was **Warren Hastings**, a man of character and resource. He soon put the administration of Bengal into order. His next task was to save British dominion in South India from overthrow by the native princes, aided by France. Great Britain had simultaneously to fight the **Maráthás** (1778-82) and **Hyder Ali**, ruler of Mysore (1778-84). The French sent a squadron to assist the natives, but before it had arrived the British, after a not wholly successful contest, were victorious. In this struggle Hastings received little help from the Home Government, and want of money drove him to very questionable ways of obtaining supplies.

§ 450. **Ireland, 1780-1782.**—During the course of the American Revolution it had been found necessary to withdraw troops from Ireland for foreign service. The British Government thereupon authorised the formation of a force of Protestant Volunteers for the defence of the country. But these Volunteers, by supporting demands for economic reform which were being made in Ireland about this time under the leadership of Henry Grattan, frightened Lord North into removing the restrictions on Irish trade. After Lord North's resignation in 1782, his successor, Rockingham, granted legislative independence to Ireland, and the Irish Parliament was allowed to repeal Poyning's Law (§ 211).

§ 451. **The Gordon Riots.**—In the meantime England was disturbed by "No Popery" riots and by constitutional discontent. In 1780 Lord George Gordon put himself at the head of an anti-Romanist mob which had London at its mercy for several days. The courage and

decision of George III. himself at last quelled the disorder. Nevertheless the general dissatisfaction with the king's personal government steadily increased, and in 1780 it found expression in Parliament. The House of Commons declared that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

§ 452. **Battle of the Saints.**—As far as America was concerned the surrender at Yorktown was the end of the war. But elsewhere British prospects were growing brighter. The last serious disaster was the loss of **Minorca** (1782). A month later Rodney and Hood completely defeated the French near the Saints (islands lying between Guadeloupe and Dominica); and before the close of the year Eliott defeated a vigorous attempt on the part of France and Spain to take **Gibraltar**. These victories not only re-established Great Britain as the mistress of the seas, but also strengthened the hands of the British ministers in their negotiations for peace.

§ 453. **Peace of Versailles.**—Peace was concluded by the various ministries which followed one another in quick succession during 1783 and 1784. Treaties with the United States, France, and Spain were signed in 1783 at Versailles. The terms were less unfavourable than Great Britain could have expected two or three years earlier. The independence of the United States was recognised and their boundaries were extended by the cession of Louisiana. France gained Tobago and Senegal, and Spain was allowed to retain Minorca and the Floridas. But, though vanquished, Great Britain, as the next ten years showed, was less exhausted than her victorious enemies.

§ 454. **Ministerial Changes, 1782-1783.**—North, in despair at the failure of his policy, had resigned in 1782, and George III. was then compelled to accept a Whig ministry,

with **Rockingham** at its head. Rockingham's administration was short-lived. But during its few months of office, besides beginning negotiations for the peace and giving Ireland legislative independence, it did something to reduce the corruption of Parliament. When Rockingham died Shelburne took his place, and **William Pitt**, second son of the Earl of Chatham, became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Eight months later the ministers were defeated in a debate on the peace by the followers of Fox and North.

§ 455. **Fox's India Bill.**—The union of two old enemies like Fox and North was described as an "unnatural coalition." George III. disliked it, but their strength in the Commons compelled him to admit them to office. Before long, however, Fox introduced an **India Bill**, which placed the government of India in the hands of seven commissioners who were, in the first instance, to be nominated by Parliament, and George seized the opportunity of getting rid of the ministers. He declared that he would consider support of the Bill as an act of enmity to himself, and was thus able to defeat the measure in the Lords, and to dismiss the ministers.

§ 456. **Formation of Pitt Ministry.**—The king then invited Pitt to form an administration. Pitt was only twenty-four and had not been more than three years in Parliament. His supporters were hopelessly outnumbered in the Commons, but he was very popular outside the House, and he resolved to appeal to the nation by means of a General Election. This new device was successful. Pitt's supporters were triumphantly returned and over one hundred and sixty members of the Opposition lost their seats.

§ 457. **Domestic Policy of Pitt.**—Pitt remained in office nearly eighteen years. During about half that time the

country was at peace, during the other half at war. Pitt's years of peace were even more successful than his years of war. He was before all else a finance minister. He rearranged the import duties in such a way that they brought in more revenue to the government, while at the same time the goods were made cheaper for the buyer. This was done by reducing the duties on articles in common use, like tea. He established a Sinking Fund for the reduction of the National Debt, and he tried to remove restrictions on external commerce. In 1786 he made a treaty with France, arranging for the reduction of the duties imposed by Great Britain on French and by France on British goods.

§ 458. **Pitt's India Bill and the Trial of Hastings.**—Pitt's first measure had been an India Act which improved upon North's *Regulating Act*. By this Act the political and military administration of the East India Company was placed under the control of the Home Government. The first Governor-General under the new Act was Lord Cornwallis. During his term of office his predecessor, Hastings, was impeached by Burke and Sheridan before the House of Lords. Hastings was charged with having lent British troops to the Nawáb of Oudh for use against the Rohillás, and with having by unfair means extorted money from various Indian princes. These acts were due to his difficulties in the first Maráthá and Mysore Wars. His trial, after dragging on for eight years, ended in an acquittal.

§ 459. **Foreign Policy of Pitt.**—The chief incident of the foreign policy of Pitt during his early years was the alliance which he negotiated with Prussia and the United Netherlands. It brought him no little credit. As a result Great Britain was able to obtain a foothold on the Pacific

Coast of North America, and to lay the foundations of British Columbia and Vancouver Island. About the same time an English colony was established in **Australia**. In 1788 some convicts condemned to transportation were landed at Botany Bay. Moving from there to the neighbouring harbour of Port Jackson, they presently founded a town called Sydney.

BOOK X.

The Great War and the Industrial Revolution, 1793-1837.

Introduction.

§ 460. **The French Revolution, 1789.**—The next period covers the latter half of the reign of George III., and the reigns of his two sons. During this time Great Britain fought two great wars so continuous as to be almost one. Both wars were the outcome of the **French Revolution**, and in both France was the chief antagonist of Great Britain. The French Revolution broke out in 1789. It was due to causes at once social, political, and intellectual.

§ 461. **Causes of the French Revolution.**—Class divisions in France were wide and deep. The clergy and nobles had many privileges, including exemption from the payment of taxes. The middle classes had little political power, and the peasants were still subject to many of the oppressive burdens of feudalism. During the eighteenth century, moreover, able writers such as Voltaire and Rousseau had led the oppressed classes to believe that changes in the methods of government would restore a golden age. Finally Louis XV. and Louis XVI. had brought the State to the verge of bankruptcy.

§ 462. **Course of the Revolution.**—In 1789 Louis XVI., in the hope of obtaining supplies of money, summoned the States-General, which had not met for 175 years. The

representatives of the Third Estate,¹ backed by the Paris mob, thereupon forced the king to assent to sweeping reforms. But the reformers were still dissatisfied, and in 1791 they set up a Republic. In 1793 the king was sent to the guillotine. Pitt at once dismissed the French Ambassador at London, and France replied by declaring war on England. In 1795 the Republic passed under the control of a small committee known as the "Directory," which was replaced in 1799 by three Consuls. The most successful of the republican generals, Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican, became First Consul in 1800 and Emperor of France in 1804. For a time his military genius enabled him to rule Western Europe. But he was finally overthrown by a European Coalition in 1815.

§ 463. **International Struggle.**—Between 1793 and 1815 France was at war with nearly every state in Europe. Her most persistent enemy was her old commercial and colonial rival, Great Britain. France, after twenty years of military success, was at last conquered, first on sea, then on land. During the war, and for some years afterwards, domestic reform in Great Britain was checked by hostility to France and to French ideas. The struggle encouraged Irish discontent, and thereby indirectly brought about a union between Great Britain and Ireland; it provoked the British into extending their rule in India; and it involved Great Britain in war with the United States of America.

§ 464. **The "Industrial Revolution."**—The strain of the constant fighting would probably have been too severe for Great Britain had not her material resources enormously increased about the same time. Throughout the eighteenth

¹ The Commons as opposed to the Nobility and Clergy.

century improvements had been taking place in **British agriculture**, and towards the end of the century changes in **manufacture** increased the output of manufactured goods. A number of mechanical inventions—notably the spinning-jenny (1767) and the spinning-frame (1769)—cheapened and quickened the manufacture of cotton goods, and later that of woollen materials. The production of iron was also increased by the re-discovery of the art of smelting by coal instead of by wood,

§ 465. **The Introduction of Steam Power.**—The new machinery was at first driven by water, but in 1785 steam power was introduced. The consequent growth of manufactures encouraged improved methods of transport. Between 1760 and 1800 three thousand miles of canals were built; and between 1760 and 1830 numerous turn-pike roads were constructed. In 1830 the first railway regularly worked by locomotive engines was opened between Liverpool and Manchester. In 1812 a steam-boat was launched on the Clyde, and in 1819 an American vessel, driven partly by steam, crossed the Atlantic.

§ 466. **Social Consequences of the Industrial Revolution.**—But the substitution of machinery for hand-labour, together with the change from war to peace, unavoidably brought loss and suffering as well as gain. The great capitalist benefited rather than the farmer or artisan. After the industrial revolution a much larger proportion of the population than before was “divorced from the land,” and dependent for a livelihood on wages. At the same time a series of bad harvests combined with the operation of new taxes on corn to raise the price of food. Both in the towns and in the country there was widespread suffering, and the years which followed the **Peace of Paris** were full of political agitation and social riot. Some of

the sufferers burnt hayricks and broke machinery. Others clamoured for political reform.

§ 467. **Political Results of the Industrial Revolution.**—

At first the Government, dreading a revolution like that in France, tried to suppress discontent by severe measures. But at last a new political party was formed, which attempted to cure the social distress by removing its causes. Its members called themselves *Liberals*. The younger Pitt had made one unsuccessful attempt to introduce Parliamentary reform, and had only been prevented from making a second by the outbreak of war with France. Practically, therefore, the *Liberals* took up his work. • They made Parliament more representative, and they improved the condition of various classes in the country by reforming the Poor Law and limiting the hours of work for children in factories; in the colonies they abolished slavery.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815.

Personal History of George III. : see Chapter XXIV.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS (1789-1820).

| Austria. | Prussia. | France. | Spain. | Russia. |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| Joseph II. H. R. E. (1765) Leopold II. H. R. E. (1790) Francis II. H. R. E. (1792-1806) [= Francis I. "Emperor of Austria" (1804-1835)] | Frederick William II. (1786) Frederick William III. (1797-1840) | Louis XVI. (1774-1792) <i>Republic</i> (1792) <i>Consulate</i> (1799) <i>Empire</i> (1804) Louis XVIII. (1814-24) | Charles IV. (1788) Ferdinand VII. (1808-33) [Joseph Bonaparte Rival King, 1808-13] | Paul I. (1796) Alexander I (1801-1825) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1797. Battle of St. Vincent. | 1807. Bombardment of Copenhagen. |
| 1798. Rebellion in Wexford. | 1808. Battles of Rorica and Vimiero. |
| 1798. Battle of the Nile. | 1809. Battle of Corunna. |
| 1799. Storming of Seringapatam. | 1811. Battle of Albuera. |
| 1801. Act of Union between England and Ireland. | 1812. Battle of Salamanca. |
| 1801. "Battle of the Baltic." | 1812-14. War with America. |
| 1802. Peace of Amiens. | 1813. Battle of Leipzig. |
| 1803-15. War with Napoleon. | 1813. Battle of Vittoria. |
| 1805. Battle of Trafalgar. | 1815. Battle of Waterloo. |
| 1805. Battle of Austerlitz. | 1815. Final Abdication of Napoleon. |
| 1806. Battle of Jena. | |

¹ Holy Roman Emperor.

§ 468. **Attitude of Great Britain towards the French Revolution.**—The Revolution which broke out in France in 1789 was watched by the people of Great Britain with mixed feelings. Those who wanted reform at home sympathised at first with the Revolution abroad. But in 1790 Edmund Burke published a very powerful essay called *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which did much to turn British feeling against the Revolutionists. The violence of the French soon changed this growing hostility into active opposition.

§ 469. **First Coalition against France.**—In 1792 France declared war on Austria and Prussia because they had made a protest in favour of Louis XVI. The French Monarchy was then abolished and a Republic proclaimed. The Republic presently offered to aid any “people” struggling to be free from the “tyranny” of any “government.” This attempt to excite rebellion in other countries was more than the other European States could endure, and after the Revolutionists had sent Louis XVI. to the guillotine in 1793 Great Britain, the United Provinces, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Austria, and Prussia formed a coalition against France. Louis XVI. was not the only sufferer from the violence of the Revolutionists. His queen, Marie Antoinette, and all men and women who were suspected of being hostile to the Republic were also guillotined. For many months there was a veritable “Reign of Terror” in France.

§ 470. **Panic of the British Government.**—The “Reign of Terror” filled the British Ministers with a great fear of similar outbreaks in England and led them to pass measures which infringed both the liberty of the subject and freedom of speech. These measures were oppressive, but not altogether without justification. Bad harvests

and industrial changes had produced starvation among the poor of England, and with it ominous signs of social discontent.

§ 471. **Further Progress of the War, 1794-1796.**—As early as 1794 Great Britain began to counterbalance the losses of her allies on land by her own victories at sea. The British defeated a French fleet off Ushant and occupied some of the French islands in the West Indies. But in the following year the French conquered the United Provinces and made peace with Spain and Prussia; and though the British were able to seize Ceylon and Cape Colony, an expedition to Quiberon Bay in aid of the French Royalists was a disastrous failure. Pitt, accordingly, proposed peace in 1796; but the negotiations fell through because he declined to leave France in possession of the Netherlands.

§ 472. **Napoleon Bonaparte.**—In the same year Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican in the service of France, made his reputation as a general by a victorious campaign against the Austrians in Italy. After Austria had been compelled to come to terms the Republic planned an attack on Great Britain. An attempt was made to invade England, but it was easily defeated. The intention of the French fleet to use the Dutch and Spanish fleets against the British was more alarming, especially as Great Britain's position was already extremely perilous. The Bank of England was on the verge of bankruptcy, and mutinies in the Navy were threatening to deprive her of the services of her fleet.

§ 473. **Restoration of Order.**—Pitt saved the Bank of England by suspending cash payments. The remedy of the grievances of the mutineers at Spithead soon brought them to submission; but those at the Nore required harsher treatment. They were eventually subdued and their

ringleaders were executed. Even before the mutinies began the outlook had been somewhat brightened by the great naval victory of Sir John Jervis and **Horatio Nelson** over the Spanish fleet off **St. Vincent**, and after discipline was restored Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off **Camperdown**.

§ 474. **Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition.**—Napoleon then determined to conquer Egypt and Syria, and afterwards India and Turkey. Great Britain, destitute of allies and weakened by a rebellion in Ireland, alone opposed him. He took **Malta** and made himself master of Egypt. But his triumph was short-lived. Within a month **Nelson** had destroyed his fleet in **Aboukir Bay**, near the western mouth of the **Nile**; and in the following spring Sir **Sydney Smith** helped to drive him back from **Acre**. Moreover Bonaparte's Eastern campaign had offended the **Tsar**, who also had designs on Turkey. As a result Russia joined **Austria**, **Naples**, and Great Britain in a second coalition against France.

§ 475. **French Victories on Land.**—In October 1799 Napoleon returned to France. He soon assumed the title of **First Consul**, and took the offensive against the allies. He himself crossed the Alps and defeated the Austrian army at **Marengo**. Before the close of the year 1800 the French general **Moreau** won a still greater victory over the Austrians at **Hohenlinden**. The Coalition shortly afterwards fell to pieces. The **Tsar** was alienated when **Malta** passed under British control, and early in 1801 Austria made peace with France.

§ 476. **Victory of Great Britain at Sea.**—But France was not uniformly successful. When the **Tsar Paul** in the interests of Napoleon attempted to unite the Danish, Swedish, and Russian fleets against Great Britain, Sir

Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet before the other ships could join it in the "**Battle of the Baltic**," at Copenhagen Roads. A little later Paul was murdered and Russia detached herself from France. Meanwhile Pitt had resigned and the new ministry was eager for peace. Napoleon, who wanted time to reorganise the French navy, met the British ministers half-way and the result was the **Peace of Amiens**.

§ 477. **The Irish Rebellion, 1791-1800.**—Pitt's resignation had been due to a difference with the king about Irish policy. The Irish Parliament represented the Protestant minority only, and there was a widespread demand in Ireland for Parliamentary Reform and Roman Catholic Emancipation. Pitt had tried to lull discontent by concessions, but could not prevent an outburst of rebellion. The French sent an expedition to help the Irish rebels, but it was dispersed by storms. In the summer of 1798, however, a rebellion broke out in Wexford; it was suppressed in a fight at **Vinegar Hill**. Two months later a French force landed in Ireland, but soon had to surrender.

§ 478. **The Act of Union.**—Believing that a legislative union was the only way to restore peace, Pitt passed an **Act of Union**, which came into force on January 1, 1801. It made the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom with a single Parliament, in which Ireland was represented by four bishops, twenty-eight temporal lords, and one hundred commoners; it united the established churches of England and Ireland, and admitted Ireland to commercial equality with Great Britain. The Irish Union, unlike the Scottish Union, contained no securities for the religion of the majority of the population of Ireland. Pitt wished to introduce a measure for the benefit of the Irish

Roman Catholics, but he was prevented by George III., and accordingly resigned his post.

§ 479. **The French Revolution and India, 1790-1804.**—The French Revolution affected Indian as well as Irish policy. In accordance with instructions, the Governors-General of India had done their best to abstain from intervention in native affairs. But when Napoleon began his Eastern campaign, the policy of non-intervention seemed no longer safe and was discarded. The Sultan of Mysore resented British interference, and the result was a short war, ended by the storming of Seringapatam. Between 1800 and 1802 several territories were annexed and many of the native princes submitted. But some of the Maráthá chiefs had to be brought round by force. The second Maráthá War was marked by the great victories of Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington, at Assaye and Argáum. It practically made the whole of India, outside Rájputána and the Indus Valley, directly or indirectly subject to the East India Company.

§ 480. **Breach of the Peace of Amiens, 1803.**—The Peace of Amiens lasted little more than a year. All this time Napoleon was continuing his annexations in Switzerland and Italy and thereby causing general alarm. After a time the British Government under Addington, Pitt's successor, declared war. Napoleon thereupon prepared for an invasion of England. The British Government replied by raising volunteers for the defence of the country and building blockhouses along the coast. But no general confidence was felt in the Ministry and in 1804 Addington gave place to Pitt, who in 1805 formed an alliance with Austria, Russia, and Sweden against France. Meanwhile Napoleon had become Emperor of the French in 1804.

§ 481. **Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.**—To invade England Napoleon had to get command of the Channel. For that purpose he attempted to draw the British fleet out of the way. But the scheme failed, and when the danger of invasion was past, Nelson and Collingwood encountered the combined French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar and won an overwhelming victory. Nelson was killed, but not before his work was done. He had made impossible any further attempt to invade England in the near future.

§ 482. **Battle of Austerlitz and Deaths of Pitt and Fox, 1805-1806.**—The allies were as unsuccessful on land as Great Britain was successful at sea. When his plan for invading England failed Napoleon turned against his continental enemies. He compelled an Austrian general to surrender with his whole army at Ulm, and he defeated the rest of the Austrian forces and their Russian allies at **Austerlitz**, near Vienna. Pitt was overwhelmed by the greatness of this latter disaster. Very soon afterwards he died. After his death a combined administration came into power. It contained Fox and Grenville, and was known as "the Ministry of all the Talents." Fox attempted to make peace with France, but he soon found that Napoleon's only object in negotiating was to gain time, and abandoned the attempt. Shortly afterwards he too died.

§ 483. **The Ministry of All the Talents.**—The Ministry of All the Talents showed no capacity for war. Early in the year 1806 an expedition arranged by Pitt had resulted in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, which had been restored to the Dutch at the Peace of Amiens; but the expeditions sent out by the new administration were entirely fruitless. At home the ministry introduced the first Bill for the **Abolition of the Slave Trade**. The Bill did not, however, become law, for before it had passed the

ministers quarrelled with George III. over the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation and were dismissed from office. A general election followed, and the new House of Commons supported the king.

§ 484. **Battle of Jena.**—After his victory of Austerlitz, Napoleon made his brother Joseph king of Naples, and his brother Louis king of Holland. These measures alarmed both Austria and Prussia, and Prussia appealed to arms. In a single day Napoleon overthrew one Prussian army at Jena, and his general Davoust overthrew another at Auerstadt. A fortnight later the French entered Berlin in triumph. At Berlin Napoleon began a fresh attempt to subjugate the British. Having been unable to destroy Great Britain's power at sea, he now attempted to undermine her strength by a commercial war.

§ 485. **The Continental System.**—Napoleon published the *Berlin Decrees*, declaring the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbidding the admission of all articles of British manufacture or origin, and all vessels hailing from Great Britain and her colonies, within the dominions of France and her allies. The British Government replied by publishing **Orders in Council** which forbade neutral vessels to frequent the ports of France and her dependencies, unless they had previously touched at a British port. Napoleon's object was to deprive Great Britain of a market in Europe. The intention of Great Britain was to make it impossible for any other nation to enjoy the trade from which her own merchants were excluded.

§ 486. **Policy of George Canning and Viscount Castlereagh.**—In order to render his Berlin Decrees really effective Napoleon needed as many allies and subject states as possible. He therefore forced Russia to recognise his conquest of Germany and to consent to his attacking Denmark,

Sweden, and Portugal. Fortunately two able ministers, Canning and Castlereagh, were in power in Great Britain, and by sending an expedition to bombard Copenhagen they saved the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the French.

§ 487. **The Peninsular War, 1808-1809.**—Napoleon, however, secured Portugal, and then tried to strengthen his hold on Spain. But by putting his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne he roused a national feeling which was one of the causes of his final overthrow. Canning thereupon sent help to the Spaniards and Portuguese. Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal and defeated the French at **Rorica** and **Vimiero**. He was then superseded by two generals, who allowed the French to withdraw. Shortly afterwards Napoleon invaded Spain in person, and defeated the Spaniards. To give them time to recover the English commander, Sir John Moore, advanced on Burgos, and having compelled the French to concentrate fell back on **Corunna**. He was, however, obliged to fight to cover the embarkation of his troops. He defeated the French, but himself fell in the battle.

§ 488. **Renewed Contest between Austria and France.**—The Spanish rising necessitated the presence of so large a French army in Spain that Austria ventured a fourth attack on France. But Napoleon won a decisive victory at **Wagram**. Austria was compelled to enter into a marriage alliance with France; and Napoleon, divorcing his wife Josephine Beauharnais, became the son-in-law of the Emperor of Austria. About this time the two ministers, Castlereagh and Canning, differed in their plans for future campaigns, and both resigned. Spencer Perceval then became Prime Minister and the Marquis of Wellesley Foreign Secretary, whereupon the Peninsular War was renewed with vigour.

§ 489. **Continuation of the Peninsular War, 1809-1812.**—Soon after the Battle of Corunna Wellesley took the command and won the Battle of Talavera. But in 1810 he dared not risk a battle and retired behind the lines of Torres Vedras, which he had constructed for the defence of Lisbon across the peninsula between the Tagus and the sea. Next year Wellington advanced once more. The French were defeated at Fuentes de Oñoro and at Albuera, and in 1812 Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, and won the Battle of Salamanca.

§ 490. **The American War, 1810-1814.**—In 1810 George III. became permanently insane, and his son George was made Regent. He retained his father's ministers until the assassination of Perceval in 1812 compelled a change, and Lord Liverpool was made Prime Minister. In the same year the commercial struggle between France and Great Britain involved this country in war with America. The Americans, who resented the injury done to their commerce by the Orders in Council, made fruitless raids into Canada, and the British burnt Washington, the American capital. The most notable contests of the war were a number of duels between frigates, in which America was generally victorious. But the British frigate *Shannon* defeated the American *Chesapeake*. The war was terminated in 1814 by the Treaty of Ghent.

§ 491. **The Russian Campaign.**—The American war had no influence on the contest in Europe, but the contemporary campaign in Russia had a disastrous effect on the fortunes of Napoleon. The Tsar, finding that his treaty with France benefited him little, and that Russia was suffering severely from the exclusion of British trade, withdrew from his alliance with the Emperor. Napoleon thereupon determined to conquer Russia. In 1812 he entered

Moscow. But the partial burning of the city compelled him to retire, and in his retreat he lost nearly the whole of his army.

§ 492. **The Downfall of Napoleon.**—Early in the following year Sweden as well as Prussia, Austria, and the other German states joined Russia against France in the War of Liberation. They drove Napoleon out of Leipzig in a three days' fight known as the **Battle of the Nations**. By the end of the year they had advanced to the eastern frontier of France, and Wellington, after winning a great victory at **Vittoria**, crossed the Pyrenees. In 1814 the allies advanced steadily. Napoleon was compelled by his marshals to abdicate, and a few days later Wellington won a final victory at **Toulouse**. The allies agreed to the restoration of Louis XVI.'s brother under the title of Louis XVIII.,¹ and the **First Treaty of Paris** banished Napoleon to **Elba** and reduced France to her boundaries of 1792.

§ 493. **The Return of Napoleon.**—Towards the end of the year the monarchs and statesmen of Christendom met in congress at **Vienna** to settle the affairs of Europe. But they could not agree, and reports of their quarrels and of the unpopularity of Louis XVIII. soon reached Napoleon and encouraged him to attempt the recovery of his power. Early in 1815 he escaped from **Elba** and once more entered **Paris**. The Congress at **Vienna** broke up. A fifth coalition was formed, and thousands of men were sent by the allies to the north-eastern frontier of France.

§ 494. **Campaign and Battle of Waterloo.**—The British and Prussian troops were drawn out across Belgium from **Ostend** to **Liège**. Napoleon first attacked the Prussian

¹ Louis XVII., son of Louis XVI., died a prisoner of the Revolutionists.

general Blücher at Ligny on June 16th and compelled him to fall back, but an attempt to crush the British at Quatre Bras failed. Napoleon then detached a small force under Grouchy to pursue the Prussians, and advanced with his main army upon Brussels. The allied army under Wellington, which after Quatre Bras had retreated in agreement with the Prussians, barred his way at Waterloo. The two armies came into conflict on the morning of June 18th, and throughout the day the English and Hanoverians resisted all the attacks of the French. Towards evening the Prussians, having out-manceuvred Grouchy, returned and fell on the French right. They thus enabled the British to assume the offensive and to scatter the French army. In July the allies entered Paris. Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son, and was kept a prisoner in St. Helena for the rest of his life. The allies then returned to the work of settlement which had been interrupted by "the Hundred Days'" campaign. Peace was restored in Europe, and Great Britain was allowed to retain Malta, Heligoland, Cape Colony, and Mauritius.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Roman Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, 1815-1837.

George IV., born 1762; married (i) Mary Anne Fitzherbert 1785 (a marriage illegal under the *Royal Marriage Act* of 1772), (ii) Caroline of Brunswick 1795; died 1830.

William IV., third son of George III., born 1765; married Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen 1818; succeeded 1830; died 1837.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Austria. | Prussia. | Russia. |
|--|---|--|--|
| Louis XVIII. (1814) Charles X. (1824-1830) Revolution of July: Louis Philippe (1830-1848) | Francis I. (1804) [= Francis II. H. R. E. (1792-1806)] Ferdinand I. (1835-1848) | Frederick William III. (1797-1840) | Alexander I. (1801) Nicholas I. (1825-1855) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1817. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. | 1829. Catholic Emancipation Act. |
| 1819. Peterloo Massacre and Sidmouth's Six Acts. | 1830. Accession of William IV. |
| 1820. Accession of George IV. | 1832. First Reform Act. |
| 1827. Battle of Navarino. | 1833. Abolition of Slavery. |
| 1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts. | 1834. Poor Law Amendment Act |

§ 495. **Political Situation after the Great War.**—For thirty years after the Battle of Waterloo there were no great wars in Europe. But it was not in any real sense a time of peace. In almost every European State the growing desire of the middle and lower classes to have a voice in the government of their countries produced agitation, revolution, and disorder. In Great Britain the heavy expense of the late war had increased the sufferings of the poor, and the Government was fully occupied in repressing a disorder which was almost wholly due to economic causes. Wages were low, taxes and the price of food were high, and the conditions of life in the new factory towns were almost unsupportable.

§ 496. **Repressive Measures.**—To protect the agricultural classes from foreign competition a new **Corn Law** was passed in 1815. It forbade the importation of grain until the home supply had reached famine prices. But the benefit of these high prices went almost wholly to the landlords and the farmers, and the misery of the labourers still continued. Many people believed that the only remedy was to give the poorer classes a voice in the government so that they might find their own cure for the evil. Agitation and riots for political reform accordingly increased, and the ministers in their alarm tried severe measures. In 1817 they suspended the **Habeas Corpus Act**. In 1819 the public unrest increased and a riot which ended in bloodshed broke out at Manchester. Sidmouth thereupon passed the **Six Acts** which gave the magistrates power to disarm agitators and to repress public meetings.

§ 497. **Accession of George IV.**—In 1820 the king died, and was succeeded by his eldest son. **George III.**, with all his faults, had been devoted to what he believed to be the interests of his subjects; and it is impossible not to

respect the single-minded uprightness of his character. It is equally impossible to admire his son. In 1820 a scheme to murder the ministers, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, showed an increasing dislike for the Government, which later brought discredit on itself by supporting the king's vain attempt to divorce his wife. The nation took the Queen's part, but Caroline lost much of her popularity before she died, a year later. In 1821 Peel, Canning, and Huskisson joined the Ministry, and introduced more liberal ideas into the Government.

§ 498. **Huskisson's Commercial Policy.**—Huskisson's aim, as President of the Board of Trade, was to enrich his country by increasing its international commerce. To enable British to compete with foreign manufacturers he lowered or abolished the duties on raw materials. He modified the Navigation Laws by giving better terms to countries which were ready to receive British goods than to those which aimed at the exclusion of foreigners; and he repealed old laws regulating wages and restricting combinations of workmen. At the same time Peel began a reform of criminal law, and gradually procured the abolition of many barbarous punishments previously inflicted for petty crimes.

§ 499. **Foreign Policy of Canning.**—When Canning came into office the balance of power in Europe was apparently stable. But in point of fact a new peril was at hand. It was possible that one of the Great Powers might increase her own strength under pretence of putting down disorder. On the whole Canning thought it wise not to interfere in foreign affairs, and he joined President Monroe of the United States in forbidding European interference in America.

In 1821, when the Greeks revolted against the oppressive

government of the Turks, Canning, as usual, refused to interfere, or to allow Russia, while ostensibly helping the Greeks, to strengthen her hold on Turkey. But when the Sultan obtained the help of the Pasha of Egypt, Canning joined France and Russia for the protection of the Greeks. With the destruction of the Egyptian fleet in the harbour of Navarino by the Allies the independence of Greece was practically achieved.

§ 500. **Ministry of Wellington, 1828-1830.**—Canning died before the battle of Navarino. After his death Goderich formed a Ministry, but soon resigned in favour of the Duke of Wellington. Wellington was a Tory by conviction, but he nevertheless passed two very liberal measures. The first was a Bill repealing the Corporation and Test Acts (see §§ 343 and 349) as affecting Protestant Nonconformists. The second, the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, was more revolutionary. Only a short time before, Wellington had refused to hold office under Canning because he was an advocate of Roman Catholic Emancipation. But the successful agitation of a "Catholic Association" in Ireland had left the Ministry no alternative, and dread of civil war caused Wellington to change his policy, though not his views.

William IV., 1830-1837.

§ 501. **A Year of Revolution.**—In June, 1830, George IV. died. He was succeeded by his brother William, the genial, but eccentric, "Sailor King." The year of William IV.'s accession was a "year of revolution" in many parts of Europe. In France Charles X. was expelled from the throne, and his distant cousin Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was elected as "King of the French" in his

stead. In Britain important constitutional changes were also effected, but without bloodshed.

§ 502. **The Struggle for Reform.**—Wellington resigned, and his successor Lord Grey advocated reform, not on principle but because he believed that it was the only way by which civil war and tumults could be avoided. In 1831 Lord John Russell introduced a **Reform Bill** into the House of Commons; but before it could become law the Government was defeated and resolved to “appeal to the country.” Parliament was dissolved, and the new elections resulted in a great increase in the majority of the Government. But the second Reform Bill was rejected by the Lords, and it was not until the excitement in the country had nearly led to civil war that the Lords gave way to pressure and a third Bill became law (1832).

§ 503. **Provisions of the Bill.**—The Bill took 143 seats away from “rotten boroughs”—that is to say, from boroughs that had decayed until they had few or no voters left, or had too many representatives in proportion to their size—and gave them to the towns which had sprung up since the Industrial Revolution, and which had hitherto not been properly represented in Parliament. It gave votes not only to a larger number of people, but also to a lower class than any as yet admitted to a share in the government.

§ 504. **The Work of the Reformed Parliament, 1832-1834.**—The results of the Reform Act appeared in the Parliament which met in 1833. The Whigs had a decided majority and achieved some useful work. They abolished the **Slave Trade** in the Colonies and emancipated the slaves; and they passed various measures for the relief and improvement of the poorer classes in the United Kingdom. In 1833 they began to make parliamentary

grants for the education of the children of the poor. In the same year, at the instance of Lord Ashley, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, a Factory Act was passed limiting the employment of children in factories, and establishing inspectors to see that its provisions were carried out. In 1834 the Ministry divided over an Irish question, and Lord Grey gave way to Lord Melbourne, whose short tenure of office is famous because it saw the passing of an Act amending the Poor Law.

§ 505. **Declining Power of the Crown.**—A little later William IV. dismissed the Prime Minister and put Peel in his place. In spite of the king's support Peel's administration lasted two months only, and his failure clearly showed that the influence of the Sovereign had declined. Lord Melbourne returned to office with most of his former colleagues. Lord John Russell was Home Secretary, and Lord Palmerston Foreign Secretary. Lord John Russell introduced a useful measure in the **Municipal Reform Act**, which established a uniform representative government in towns.

§ 506. **Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston, 1830-1837.**—Lord Palmerston had first become Foreign Secretary in 1830. While the rest of the Cabinet was absorbed in Parliamentary reform, he was trying to direct the revolutionary movements of Europe by means of the British fleet. He was a supporter of all struggles for constitutional government. He helped the Belgians to assert their independence, and, both in Spain and in Portugal, he upheld the existing governments against conservative and reactionary parties.

§ 507. **Close of the Reign.**—William IV. died in 1837. His reign was not only remarkable for its great social and constitutional reforms, but also for colonial developments.

While George III. was king, a third **Maráthá War** had resulted in the annexation of the Maráthá lands. In the following reign the **First Burmese War** ended in the acquisition of Assam and the neighbouring maritime provinces. Under William IV. these conquests were assimilated, and **India** came to be regarded not merely as a rich country to be exploited by traders, but as a dependency for the good government of which Britain was responsible. Thus Lord William Bentinck effected considerable improvements in the administration. He prohibited the native practice of burning widows at their husbands' funerals, encouraged missionary enterprise and education, and in other ways showed that he considered it a part of his duty as governor-general to look after the interests of the natives.

BOOK XI

The Victorian Age, 1837-1901.

Introduction.

§ 508. Europe during the Victorian Era, 1837-1901.—In the Victorian Age imperial questions became increasingly important in Great Britain until in course of time they even rivalled domestic questions in interest. At the same time the wealth and success of Great Britain made other European states anxious to colonise, and a keen competition for markets and spheres of influence sprang up. In 1815 Great Britain, Holland, France, Spain, and Russia were the only states with colonies; but Germany, Italy, and the United States have since been added to the number, and their rivalry has led to the formation of huge armies equipped with formidable weapons. As the nineteenth century advanced, improved means of communication (by cheap posts, telegraphs, and telephones), and of transport (by railways and steamships), greatly facilitated and extended both internal and external commerce.

§ 509. Political Features of the Victorian Era.—The nineteenth century was the golden age of democracy—the idea of “government *of* the people *by* the people *for* the people.”¹ In British politics the chief landmarks of the democratic movement are the Parliamentary Reform Acts

¹ Abraham Lincoln.

of 1832, 1867, and 1884-5; and the reform of Local Government in the Borough (1835), the Shire (1888), and the Parish (1895). In imperial politics the great landmarks have been the grant of self-government to all the large colonies of Great Britain which are situated in temperate climates—to Canada (1840), to the chief Australian Colonies and New Zealand (1850-1890), and to Cape Colony (1872).

§ 510. **Colonial Expansion during the Victorian Era.**—At the beginning of Victoria's reign the most important British dependencies were **India** and the **West Indies**. But during the reign the fringe of settlements in **Canada**, **Australia**, and **South Africa** became vast and prosperous territories, and Great Britain also acquired no small share in "the Dark Continent" of Africa. Whereas at Victoria's accession the British Empire covered only one-sixth of the land-surface of the globe, it covered one-quarter before her death. At present this vast Empire seems more likely to hold together than to fall to pieces; and there are even some who dream that before many years have passed away the British peoples may seek greater strength in an **Imperial Federation**.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Constitutional Government, 1837-1885.

Alexandrina Victoria, only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., and Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg, was born 1819; succeeded 1837; married her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha 1840; died 1901.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

| France. | Spain. | Italy. | Austria. | Prussia. | Russia. |
|--|---|---|--|--|--|
| Louis Philippe (1830) Second Republic (1848) Napoleon III., Emp. (1852) Third Republic (1870) | Isabella II. (1833-1868) Amadeus I. (1870-1873) Alfonso XII. (1874) Alfonso XIII. (1886) | Victor Emmanuel II. of Sardinia (1849), of Italy (1861) Humbert (1878) Victor Emmanuel III. (1900) | Ferdinand I. (1835) Francis Joseph (1848) | Frederick William III. (1797-1840) William I. (1861) Frederick III. (1888) William II. (1888) | Nicholas I. (1825) Alexander II. (1855) Alexander III. (1881) Nicholas II. (1894) |

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1839. Penny Postage. | 1849. Repeal of Navigation Acts. |
| 1839. Chartist Riots. | 1854. Outbreak of Crimean War. |
| 1838-42. First Afghan War. | 1857. Indian Mutiny. |
| 1839-42. First Chinese War. | 1861. Death of Prince Consort. |
| 1846. Repeal of Corn Laws. | 1861-5. American Civil War. |
| 1847. Factory Act. | |

§ 511. Accession of Victoria, 1837.—William IV. was succeeded in Hanover, where the Salic Law prevailed, by his brother Ernest, Duke of Cumberland; in Great Britain by his niece Victoria. The new sovereign was only eighteen at the time of her accession, but she was naturally able, and her widowed mother, the Duchess of Kent, had given her an excellent education. She was fortunate in her first minister, Lord Melbourne, who tactfully instructed her in the duties of a constitutional sovereign. She was still more fortunate in her marriage with her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg, whose self-control, self-denial, and absolute devotion to duty fitted him to fill the difficult position of Prince Consort in a land where foreigners were still regarded with suspicion.

§ 512. Early Troubles of the Reign.—The outlook was gloomy at the moment of Queen Victoria's accession. Recent reform had diminished, but had not removed, the causes of social discontent. Many of the queen's subjects were still living under miserable conditions, overworked, underpaid, insufficiently fed, and inadequately clothed and housed. Serious troubles were threatening in the East, and the British Colonies in Canada, where there was friction between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant inhabitants, were on the verge of rebellion. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent out to restore order. This he did, though in rather too arbitrary a fashion; he also issued a report recommending that the colonists should be allowed a considerable amount of self-government. Though Lord Durham's conduct excited vehement condemnation and he was recalled, his principles were adopted to a very large extent, and were afterwards applied to other colonies.

§ 513. The Afghan and Chinese Wars.—Meanwhile Great Britain's suspicions of Russian policy in Asia were

leading her into serious error and disaster. The British deposed an Amir of Afghanistan whom they suspected of being too friendly with Russia, and put a nominee of their own in his place. This led to a war in which a British army was annihilated while attempting to leave Afghanistan, only one man out of sixteen thousand escaping. The disaster was avenged, but the British nevertheless thought it wise to restore the Amir to the throne. About the same time Great Britain engaged in a war with China in order to force the Chinese to allow the importation of opium. China was easily compelled to throw open Canton and four other "treaty-ports" to British trade, and to cede the island of Hong-Kong to Great Britain.

§ 514. **The Chartist Riots.**—In the early years of the reign two distinct remedies for the misery of the poor were proposed. The first was to give the people political power in order that they might redress their own grievances. Its supporters drew up a document known as the **People's Charter**. They asked, among other things, that voting should be secret, that all men should have votes, and that there should be annual parliaments. They were known as **Chartists**, and in 1839 the more violent of them were guilty of serious riots. The agitation continued till 1848, when there was a futile Chartist demonstration in England. It was proposed that half a million men should march to Westminster to present the **People's Charter** to the House of Commons. London was panic-stricken, and prompt measures were taken for the defence of the city. But, to the relief of the inhabitants, they proved to be unnecessary for comparatively few of the Chartists assembled. This fiasco killed Chartism.

§ 515. **The Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.**—The other remedy proposed was to reduce the price of food by the

abolition of the Corn Laws (see § 496). In 1839 an Anti-Corn Law League was formed in Manchester by **Richard Cobden** and **Charles Villiers**, both Lancashire men. A few years later they were joined by **John Bright**. The Anti-Corn Law League rapidly effected a change in public opinion. But five years of agitation and a potato famine in Ireland were needed before **Sir Robert Peel**, the Conservative Premier, was converted. In 1846, however, he secured the repeal of the **Corn Laws**. By making bread cheaper he relieved the sufferings of the poor in England as well as those of the famine-stricken Irish. Peel's conversion to Free Trade split his party and he was soon supplanted by a Liberal Prime Minister, **Lord John Russell**.

§ 516. **Commercial Progress.**—In other respects the early years of the reign saw considerable progress. In 1837 **Sir Rowland Hill** had introduced penny postage, and about the same time the electric telegraph came into use. In 1847 the Government passed a **Factory Act** which limited the working-day of women and children in factories to ten hours. In 1849 the **Navigation Laws** (see § 325) were repealed. In 1851 the first Great Exhibition was held in Hyde Park. Its popularity was extraordinary.

§ 517. **The New Politicians.**—Between 1848 and 1852 **Wellington**, **Peel**, and **Bentinck**, who had at various times led different sections of the Conservative Party, died. **Lord Derby** then became the nominal head of the Protectionist section, but their ablest leader was **Disraeli**, a young man of Jewish race, who had no political connections. When **Palmerston** and **Russell** quarrelled **Lord Derby** tried to form a ministry, but it did not last, its place being taken by a Coalition Ministry of Peelites

(Conservative Free traders) and Liberals. The Prime Minister was Lord Aberdeen, and his Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone, a Peelite who subsequently joined the Liberals.

§ 518. **The Colonial Policy of Great Britain, 1850-1854.**—In the meantime the Colonial policy, which originated with Lord Durham's Report (§ 512), was being extended from Canada to the Australian Colonies. In 1850 New South Wales,¹ South Australia,² and Victoria³ received responsible self-government. Each was placed under the control of a Governor representing the Crown, but ruling by the advice of a colonial representative assembly. New Zealand⁴ received a constitution in 1852. In South Africa Sir Harry Smith annexed the region between the Orange and Vaal rivers, but was later compelled to make the Sand River Convention, which recognised the independence of the Boers north of the river Vaal. In India Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab, Pegu, and Oudh. The Punjab, which was acquired only after a fierce contest with the Sikhs, was well organised by John and Henry Lawrence.

§ 519. **The Crimean War, 1854-1856.**—In 1854 Great Britain and France undertook a war on behalf of the independence of Turkey. Russia was trying to secure a Protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan, which would have made the Tsar supreme in the near East. To prevent this a British fleet blockaded the Russian ports on the Baltic; a joint fleet bombarded Odessa; and a joint army was sent to the Crimea for the purpose of

¹ Founded 1788.

² Founded 1836.

³ Separated from the Mother-Colony of New South Wales in 1850.

⁴ Formally annexed 1839.

besieging the Russian arsenal of **Sebastopol**. The Allies defeated the Russians in the battle of **Alma** and sat down before **Sebastopol**. It was during this siege that the famous **Light Brigade** charged a Russian army at **Balaclava**. Ten days later the Russians were defeated at **Inkerman**. These victories were the result of hard fighting, not good generalship; and winter, when it came, revealed grave defects in the British organisation.

§ 520. **Conclusion of the War.**—The mortality of the British troops from cold and hunger was enormous and a storm of indignation against the Ministry followed the exposure of the blunders which had caused it. Lord **Aberdeen** thereupon resigned and Lord **Palmerston** became Prime Minister. Even before the change had been made, **Florence Nightingale** had been sent out to re-organise the hospital service. **Palmerston** speedily restored the efficiency of the Army organisation in the **Crimea**. In January 1855 the King of **Sardinia** joined France and Great Britain; a month later the Tsar **Nicholas** died of grief at the failure of his troops, **Sebastopol** fell, and the Tsar **Alexander II.** asked for peace. The result was a compromise known as the **Peace of Paris**.

§ 521. **Second Chinese War.**—In 1856 there was a second Chinese war, in which France took part. The joint French and British forces, by occupying **Canton** and by capturing **Peking**, compelled China to come to terms after a prolonged negotiation. As a result not only opium traders but also ambassadors and missionaries were admitted into China. In the meantime a mutiny had endangered the British rule in **India**.

§ 522. **Causes of the Indian Mutiny.**—The causes of the Mutiny were various. The native princes were irritated by Lord **Dalhousie's** annexations; and both **Hindoo** and

Mahometan sepoys (*i.e.* native soldiers in the service of Great Britain) objected, on religious grounds, to being forced to use cartridges which were greased, as they believed, with cow's fat and hog's lard. (To the Hindoo the cow was sacred, to the Mahometan the pig was abhorrent.)

§ 523. **Course of the Mutiny.**—The rumour about the cartridges was thought by the British rulers to be untrue, and they did not realise until too late how widely it was believed, and how great the danger was. In May 1857 some of the native regiments broke into open mutiny at **Meerut** and shot their officers, and there was also a massacre of Europeans at **Cawnpore**. At **Delhi**, where a descendant of the Moguls had been set up as Emperor, the mutineers themselves were besieged by troops from the Punjab under **John Nicholson**. At **Lucknow** a handful of British troops, under **Sir Henry Lawrence**, held the ill-fortified Residency from May till September, when they were relieved by **Sir Henry Havelock**. Next year the Mutiny was finally crushed by the capture of **Gwalior**. Before it was suppressed Lord Palmerston had been defeated in the House and succeeded by Lord Derby as Prime Minister.

§ 524. **The Derby Administration.**—The new Ministry included **Disraeli** and **Lord Cranborne**, afterwards **Marquis of Salisbury**. It passed an **India Act** which took the control of India from the East Indian Company and transferred it to the Crown. It also encouraged and organised a **Volunteer** movement, which was inspired by fear of France; it admitted Jews to Parliament, and it abolished property qualifications for membership. The Ministers were then defeated over a **Reform Bill**. After a vain appeal to the country, they resigned and Palmerston returned to power.

§ 525. **Lord Palmerston's Second Administration.**—The home policy of Lord Palmerston's last Ministry was unimportant, but its foreign history was most eventful. Independence was being secured for Italy by the efforts of Cavour, an able politician, and Garibaldi, a patriotic soldier, and in 1861 Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, was declared King of Italy. In 1860 France and Great Britain agreed, by a commercial treaty, to admit each other's goods on more favourable terms than those of other countries, and in 1861 Civil War broke out in the United States of America. At the same time Britain suffered a great loss in the death of the Prince Consort.

§ 526. **Civil War in America.**—The northern states of America, which were puritan in origin, and democratic and progressive in politics, had always been at variance with the southern states, which were slave-owning communities and aristocratic both in origin and in sentiment. In 1861 the two groups finally quarrelled over questions of slavery and state rights. The southern states seceded from the Union, formed a Confederation, and at first seemed likely to establish both their right to keep slaves and their independence. The northern states blockaded the southern ports and caused a cotton famine, which brought Lancashire to the verge of starvation and very nearly induced Great Britain to enter the contest. In 1862 when the *Alabama* was allowed to leave the Mersey and act as a Confederate cruiser, Great Britain still more narrowly escaped war. But during the rest of the struggle she remained neutral. In 1865 the Confederates were defeated. Palmerston died in the same year.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Democracy and Empire, 1865-1901.

Personal History of Victoria, Contemporary Rulers : see Chapter XXVIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHIEF EVENTS.

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| 1867. Second Reform Act. | 1885. Relief of Khartoum, |
| 1870. Elementary Education Act. | 1886. Annexation of Burmah. |
| 1872. Ballot Act. | 1888. Local Government Act. |
| 1877. Transvaal Annexed. | 1891. Free Education Act. |
| 1878-80. Second and Third Afghan Wars. | 1898. Battle of Omdurman. |
| 1879. Zulu War. | 1899-1902. Boer War. |
| 1881. Majuba Hill. | 1900. Annexation of Transvaal. |
| | 1900. Australian Commonwealth Act. |

§ 527. **The Second Reform Act, 1867.**—Lord John, now Earl, Russell nominally became leader of the Liberal Government on Lord Palmerston's death, but it was Gladstone who really exercised the chief influence in the Ministry. Early in 1866 the Russell Administration was defeated over a Reform Bill, and a Conservative Ministry under Lord Derby took office. Disraeli, who was a member of the new Administration, at once brought in a Reform Act, which, after many alterations, became law. It gave votes to artisans, who were as yet uneducated and ignorant of politics, and on this account excited great opposition. In 1868 ill-health compelled Lord Derby to resign, and he was succeeded as Prime Minister by Disraeli.

§ 528. **First Administration of Disraeli.**—During the short Ministry an expedition was sent to Magdala to

release some Europeans imprisoned by Theodore, King of Abyssinia. Magdala was taken and the prisoners were released in 1868. Meanwhile Disraeli was engaged at home in a Parliamentary contest with Gladstone about Irish questions. Discontent in Ireland had been increased by the American-Irish Society of Fenians, and attempts at repression had only resulted in risings in Ireland, a vain attempt to capture Chester, and an attack on Clerkenwell Prison. Gladstone maintained that the discontent was due to genuine grievances, and in 1868 he carried a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland. Disraeli thereupon appealed to the country. The general election resulted in the return of a majority in favour of Gladstone, and Disraeli resigned.

§ 529. **Franco-Prussian War.**—The chief event in the foreign history of Gladstone's first Ministry was the great war between France and Prussia. Bismarck, the Prussian minister, skilfully kept Great Britain and Russia neutral during the contest, and the war ended in the victory of Prussia, the overthrow of Napoleon III., who had become Emperor of the French in 1852, the establishment of a third Republic in France, and the formation of a German Empire under the King of Prussia.

§ 530. **Colonial Expansion and the Suez Canal.**—In 1871 the British acquired Griqualand West in South Africa. In 1872 the Dutch stations on the Gold Coast were secured by the British Government, and responsible self-government was given to **Cape Colony**. Three years earlier a Frenchman had completed the **Suez Canal**, and effected a revolution in the conditions of trade between Europe and the East.

§ 531. **Home Policy of the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874.**—The home policy of this Administration was more

important than the foreign. The Government **disestablished** and partly disendowed the **Irish Church**. It passed an **Elementary Education Act**, providing for the formation and support of board-schools, and giving the boards power to compel parents to send their children to school, and a **Ballot Act**, making voting secret, in the hope of diminishing bribery and violence at elections. It also legalised Trade Unions and reorganised the War Office. In 1874 Gladstone appealed to the country for its opinion on a bill for granting a Roman Catholic University to Ireland. The elections resulted in a Conservative majority, and he resigned.

* § 532. **Disraeli's Foreign Policy, 1874-1880.**—The second Ministry of Disraeli was remarkably uneventful in home politics. But his foreign policy was striking enough to compensate for his lack of a home policy. He purchased the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the **Suez Canal** and thus obtained an effective control of the direct route to the far East. He joined with France in deposing the reigning Khedive in favour of his son, and established a Dual Control over Egypt. He passed an **Additional Titles Bill**, in virtue of which Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and he involved England in a war with Afghanistan, in the course of which **Lord Roberts** occupied Kabul and made a famous march to **Kandahar**.

§ 533. **Zulu War.**—In South Africa difficulties had arisen between the Transvaal Boers and the native tribes on their borders. The Zulus, in particular, were so great a danger to the white population that, after the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, Sir Bartle Frere determined to break the Zulu power. The campaign was at first unsuccessful. A British contingent was overwhelmed at **Isandhlwana**; another narrowly escaped at **Rorke's Drift**.

on the Tugela River; and later the Prince Imperial, son of Napoleon III., who was fighting as a volunteer for Britain, was killed. At length success attended the efforts of the British army. The Zulu capital was stormed and King Cetewayo was taken prisoner.

§ 534. **Gladstone's Second Ministry and the Boer War, 1880-1885.**—Disraeli, who had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876, had not succeeded in securing the entire approval of the nation for his foreign policy. A general election in 1880 turned his party out of office and he died a year later. The Liberals then came into power under the leadership of Gladstone. Towards the end of the year the Boers of the Transvaal, being secure from the Zulus, threw off British control, proclaimed an independent republic under Paul Kruger, and defeated a British force at **Majuba Hill**. Gladstone made a peace with them which, while recognising their independence, upheld the suzerainty of the Queen. But in 1884 this treaty was dropped for one in which there was no mention of the Queen's suzerainty. Gladstone thought the British claims unjustified, but what he meant for fairness was interpreted as weakness.

§ 535. **Egyptian War.**—War in the Transvaal was succeeded by war in Egypt. The Egyptians, under the leadership of Arabi Pasha, an officer of the Egyptian army, made a determined attempt to shake off the "Dual Control" of France and Britain. As France would not assist her, Great Britain was compelled to restore order alone. In 1882 Admiral Seymour bombarded and occupied **Alexandria**, and Wolseley defeated an Egyptian army at Tel-el-Kebir and seized Cairo.

§ 536. **War in the Soudan.**—But soon a new danger arose. In 1883 Muhammad Ahmad proclaimed himself the Mahdi promised by the prophet Muhammad, who was

to sweep away the rule of unbelievers from the earth. He was generally accepted in the Soudan. In 1884 General Charles Gordon, who had been sent by the British Government to withdraw troops from the Soudan, was shut up in Khartoum by the Mahdists. The Government was compelled to attempt his rescue, but there were fatal delays and hesitations. When the British relieving force at length reached Khartoum, it was to find that it had fallen two days before, and that General Gordon was dead. British and Egyptian troops were then withdrawn, and the southern boundary of Egypt was fixed at Wady Halfa.

§ 537. Fall of Gladstone.—The policy of the Government in South Africa and in Egypt had not been generally approved, and Gladstone was defeated in 1885. The chief feature of the sixteen years which followed the downfall of Gladstone's second Ministry was the colonial expansion of the more powerful European states. The constitutional history of Great Britain during the last years of Queen Victoria's reign is therefore much less important than its colonial history. Nevertheless one important reform was initiated at the close of 1884, when household suffrage was extended to the counties. This measure was followed early in 1885 by a Redistribution Bill.

§ 538. Rapid Changes of Ministry, 1885-1895.—In 1885 Lord Salisbury formed a Conservative Ministry. During its short term of office, it passed an Act authorising the formation of a Federal Council for Australia, and another to encourage peasant proprietorship in Ireland. A general election at the end of the year resulted in the return of the Liberals to office under Gladstone. For various reasons Gladstone now resolved to accept the policy of the Irish Home Rule League which had been formed with the object of securing the repeal of the Union between

England and Ireland. His conversion to Home Rule alienated many of his supporters, and under the name of **Liberal-Unionists** they formed a party which was strong enough to defeat his **First Home Rule Bill**. The Conservatives then came back to power under Lord Salisbury. This Administration improved Local Government and granted Free Education. It also witnessed the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

§ 539. **Last Ministry of Gladstone.**—In the general election of 1892 the Liberals and the Home Rulers were victorious, and Gladstone once more became Prime Minister. During the next eighteen months a number of large measures were introduced, but only one of these, the **Parish Councils Act**, became law. This statute gave to every rural parish the management of its own affairs, and created self-governing county districts. It thus completed the organisation of counties for local government which had been begun in 1888 by the establishment of County Councils. Before this, an Act of 1871 had set up the Local Government Board, and the constitution of boroughs had been regulated by the **Municipal Corporations Act**, 1882. Under the **Education Act**, 1870, public elementary education was controlled by special authorities, known as School Boards.¹ The **Second Home Rule Bill** was passed by the House of Commons in 1893, but rejected by the Lords. In 1894 Gladstone's ill-health compelled him to retire. The Queen invited Lord Rosebery to take his place, but his Ministry only lasted a year.

§ 540. **Last Ministry of Lord Salisbury.**—In 1895 Lord Salisbury formed his third Ministry. It lasted seven years, and was ended only by the Prime Minister's retirement

¹ In 1902 all these were abolished, and their work was transferred to the County Councils.

through ill-health. The interest of the period is almost entirely foreign and colonial. Lord Salisbury himself was Foreign Secretary until he gave the post to the Marquis of Lansdowne in 1900. His Administration combined Conservatives, such as Arthur Balfour (First Lord of the Treasury) and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Liberal Unionists such as Joseph Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary) and G. J. Goschen (First Lord of the Admiralty).

§ 541. The Scramble for Africa.—The assertion of the "Monroe Doctrine"¹ by America prevented the nations of Europe from acquiring fresh territory in America, so the international, commercial, and colonial rivalry of the last twenty years of the nineteenth century was confined to parts of Asia, Africa and the Pacific. The chief territories acquired by Great Britain were situated in East, West, and South Africa.

§ 542. Increase of the British Empire in East and West Africa.—In 1890 Great Britain secured the Protectorate of Zanzibar and Uganda in return for the cession of Heligoland to Germany. Having thus gained control of the sources as well as the mouth of the Nile, the British undertook the conquest of the intermediate region. Sir Herbert Kitchener extended the Egyptian frontier as far south as Dongola in 1896, and two years later he decisively defeated the Mahdists at the Atbara and at Omdurman. In West Africa Great Britain took over the administration of Nigeria, which had formerly been in the hands of the Niger Company.

§ 543. South Africa.—In South Africa there was a possibility of an alliance between Germany and the Transvaal. Had such an alliance been formed it would have

¹ See p. 240.

prevented the expansion of British South Africa northwards. In 1885 Sir Charles Warren, by annexing **Bechuanaland**, checked an attempt on the part of the Transvaal to extend its frontiers eastward. Finally, the possibility of Boer extension northwards was ended by the establishment in 1889 of the "British South Africa Company," the creation of Cecil Rhodes. This Company controlled what is now Rhodesia, a large territory to the north and east of the Transvaal.

§ 544. **Rivalry in South Africa.**—Three powerful men in South Africa had each planned out a scheme for the future. Cecil Rhodes, who was Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890-1896, appears to have aimed at a self-governing federation of all British and Boer territories under the British flag. The plan of Jan Hofmeyr, a Cape Dutchman who directed the Afrikaner League, was similar, except that the Dutch rather than the British element was to be dominant. After the discovery of gold in the Transvaal **Kruger**, its President, seems to have thought that the increasing wealth of the Transvaal would make a wholly independent Dutch South Africa possible.

§ 545. **The Jameson Raid.**—In the meantime Kruger kept the immigrant mining population of Johannesburg (Uitlanders or Outlanders) from sharing the political power of the Dutch farmers. The Outlanders asked for what they considered their civil rights and fair taxation. Failing to get any concessions they plotted an armed rising in Johannesburg. The result was a raid from **Mafeking** in Rhodesia, led by Dr. Jameson, Rhodes' friend and lieutenant. It was crushed at Krugersdorp on New Year's Day, 1896. Cecil Rhodes resigned, and the British Government denied all responsibility for the Raid. A merely nominal punishment was inflicted on the raiders.

But the Boers did not believe the denial, and began to arm themselves for a struggle. Negotiations between Kruger, Steyn (President of the Orange Free State) and Sir Alfred Milner (High Commissioner for South Africa) took place in 1899 at Bloemfontein, but failed. Both sides then prepared for war.

§ 546. **The Great Boer War, 1899-1902.**—The Boer Republics first called upon Great Britain to send no further reinforcements to South Africa, and on her refusal invaded Natal and Cape Colony, and besieged Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking. The British troops under Sir Redvers Buller attempted to relieve these towns, but they were defeated in every quarter. The Government thereupon sent out more adequate forces, both regular and volunteer, from all parts of the Empire, under Lord Roberts and Lord (formerly Sir Herbert) Kitchener. In February Kimberley was relieved, and a large force under Cronje was captured at Paardeburg. About the same time Buller relieved Ladysmith. Mafeking was relieved later, and after the capture of their respective capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, the Orange Free State and Transvaal were formally annexed in September. But it took Lord Kitchener two years more to bring the Boers to submission.

§ 547. **Further Extension of the Empire and Death of Queen Victoria.**—In India Great Britain, inspired by dread of Russian invasion, strengthened her north-west frontier, and annexed Burmah. In 1895 Great Britain, Russia and Germany took advantage of a War between China and Japan to secure privileges for themselves. Great Britain's share was a lease of Wei-hai-wei. But on the whole the policy of Great Britain and of the United States has been to prevent the partition of the Chinese Empire. The Chinese Government, however, irritated by the interference

of the Europeans in China, and by the activity of their missionaries, instigated an anti-foreign "Boxer" rising which broke out in the summer of 1900. The European colony in Peking was besieged in the British Legation for nearly two months. It was finally relieved by a joint force of Europeans, Japanese, and Americans. In the same year the movement in favour of Australian federation culminated in the **Australian Commonwealth Act**, which gave Australia a federal constitution, and in January 1901 the Great Queen laid down the sceptre which she had held for sixty-four years and passed to a well-earned rest.

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